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THE PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

THE reader is invited to examine, with me, the testimony of the Four Gospels concerning the proximate causes which led to the crucifixion of our Lord. In order that our conclusions may be more firmly established, let us exclude from our premises the doctrine of the infallibility, and even the doctrine of the special inspiration of the Evangelists. We will not, however, exclude the possibility of miracles, for I regard the assumption of their impossibility as a thoroughly unreasonable begging of the question. Neither will we assume that the fourth Gospel could not have come from the Apostle John; for that is a conclusion which has by no means been proved.

On the contrary, I think we shall, from the examination to which the reader is invited, find strong reasons for placing the fourth Gospel as high in the scale of historical accuracy as in spiritual elevation. For my own part, the preliminary examination which I have already made has convinced me that the narratives of that Gospel must have been derived from a truthful witness intimately acquainted with the facts.

The proximate causes into which we would inquire began clearly to manifest themselves at the time when Jesus drew from Simon at Cæsarea Philippi that strong confession of faith, which led to the reply, Thou art Peter. (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27; Luke ix. 18.) From that time Jesus began to show the disciples that the Messiah, so far from fulfilling the mistaken expectations of the chief men, was to suffer an ignominious death. (Matt. xvi. 21, etc.) The narrative of Matthew, with which that of Mark

closely agrees, then goes on to describe the transfiguration ; a visit to Galilee, in which Jesus repeats the warning that their faith would be tested when He himself was crucified ; a visit to Capernaum ; the starting toward Jerusalem ; the attempt of the Pharisees to trip Him up concerning marriage and divorce ; and a third solemn warning to the twelve that their faith in Him as the Messiah would be shaken when they saw Him crucified. He passes through Jericho ; and as he draws near to Jerusalem (Matt. xx. 29-xxi. 17) borrows an ass's colt, rides into the city triumphantly, and drives the traders from the temple courts. He foretells the withering of a fig-tree ; answers with marvelous dignity and wisdom various attempts to entrap Him ; and the next day foretells the speedy destruction of the city. He gives the parable of the Last Judgment ; and a fourth time warns his twelve that in two days more He would be arrested and hauled to death. The Pharisees had plotted to kill Him secretly, but not during the feast. The supper at Simon's house follows, and the pouring of ointment on his head. Judas agrees to betray Him ; the Last Supper, the scene in the garden, the arrest, the conviction before the Sanhedrin, the sending of Him to Pilate, the confession to Pilate that He is a king ; Pilate's desire to release Him, but yet giving Him up to be crucified ; these follow in the narratives of Matthew and of Mark.

Matthew was one of the twelve ; and Mark, being a connection of Peter's, probably obtained, as the ancient tradition runs, his materials from Peter. Luke was not one of the twelve ; and to judge from his own preface, had but little direct personal knowledge of the events. He was, however, an educated and careful writer ; and his account, drawn by inquiry from others, agrees in the main with that of Matthew and Mark. Yet he inserts several new, interesting, and valuable particulars ; and he does not keep to precisely the same order of events. The most important difference is, that he omits the supper at Bethany, but inserts in his narrative, even earlier than Peter's confession of faith, a supper at the house of a Pharisee, at a place not named, when a woman who was a sinner anointed Jesus' feet. (Luke vii. 36, *et seq.*)

It has been abundantly proved that these three Gospels were in common use among Christians, in all parts of the Roman Empire, in the early part of the second century. They could not have obtained that wide circulation, at so early a period, had they not been introduced among the churches at a still earlier period, before the close of the first century. Moreover, they bear in them-

selves evidence that they were compiled, before the destruction of Jerusalem, from oral accounts which the original witnesses of Jesus' ministry had given in each other's presence, until many of them had almost crystallized into fixed forms of words before they were written. Under these circumstances, there cannot be a reasonable doubt that in the general spirit of the teaching, and general form of events, they are trustworthy. Yet it must be admitted that their compilers do not invariably agree in their chronological arrangement of the events, and that they frequently leave us without a clue whereby to understand the connection of one event with another.

On passing into the fourth Gospel we find ourselves in an atmosphere so entirely different that many critics within the last half century have declared that it is not a historical work. But it must not be hastily discredited. It is universally conceded that it was written long after the other Gospels; there is, therefore, the strongest probability that its writer had seen those Gospels, and was even familiar with them. Moreover, every reader admits that the fourth Gospel presents a very exalted view of the dignity of Christ. And yet in several of the narratives which are common to this and to the other Gospels the events are in the fourth Gospel partially, if not wholly, deprived of a miraculous air. For a single example, the astounding miracle which in Matthew's Gospel (xxviii. 2-7) and Luke's (xxiv. 4, 5) is associated with the resurrection is in John's Gospel shorn of its glory, and told with a curious preface, that suggests John's own doubt about it. He is careful to show that it was not "the women," but Mary alone who saw the angels; that it was "early, while it was yet dark;" that Mary's eyes were suffused with tears, so that she did not recognize Jesus standing by her in the open air, but where she saw the angels was in the darker cave, out of which He and Peter had just come, not having seen two angels in white, but having seen two bundles of white graveclothes; and finally, that these angels in white questioned her in precisely the same phrase which Jesus himself, instantly afterward, repeated. Why should this writer, so evidently holding the highest view of Jesus' dignity, and in all probability acquainted with Matthew's and Luke's accounts, write thus? as though he suspected that Mary's angels in white were nothing but the graveclothes which he and Peter saw; and that their supposed question was really the voice of Jesus behind her? How can we explain it, rationally, except by admitting that the writer was actually the man who went with

Peter into the tomb, and who is giving with scrupulous accuracy, as upon oath, only what he himself absolutely knew of that one event which changed the whole course of human history? I cannot refuse to see in this twentieth chapter of John demonstrative evidence that the writer of it is a witness fully competent in knowledge, and absolutely trustworthy in character; and I would therefore turn to him to see whether he will throw light upon the connection of events, and upon the proximate causes of the crucifixion.

The first and second Gospels agree in saying that the chief men had determined to kill our Lord secretly. The phrase "by subtilty" (craftily, by stratagem, secretly) really modifies not only the verb *take*, but the verb *kill*, also. "Take and kill him" is a hendiadys, modified by the phrase "by subtilty." The fourth Gospel says they plotted to kill Him, and gave orders that any one who knew where He was should give information. Luke also alludes to their desire to get hold of Him and destroy Him in the absence of a crowd. And yet the Gospels describe a noisy arrest and public execution! The Synoptic Gospels tell us that the chief men said, not during a feast; and then go on to tell us they did kill Him in the midst of one of the greatest feasts. Matthew and Mark say the council condemned Him for blasphemy, and yet sent Him to the Roman governor, as though Pilate had jurisdiction over blasphemy. Luke gives an explanation of that point. But neither of the three give us any clue to the reason why Pilate, after Jesus had confessed that He was a king, pronounced Him innocent; or why, after pronouncing Him innocent, and showing a desire to save Him, he nevertheless sent Him to the cross. In the midst of these inherent inconsistencies and difficulties, two of them insert a marvelous account of a supper at Bethany, where a strange woman enters, apparently uninvited, and pours a costly perfume on his head. There seems to be no cause for the act; and no reason why the event may not have occurred at the earlier date at which Luke places it; and the perfume have been poured, as he says it was, on the Saviour's feet.

In the narrative of the fourth Gospel, all the inconsistencies and difficulties vanish; and it is because we have been accustomed to reading John's narrative that the difficulties of the other Gospels have not troubled us. To begin with the costly anointing with perfume, we may notice that the marvelous nature of the event disappears in John's account of it. The woman was no stranger, entering uninvited; and no sinner such as Luke calls

her; she was that Mary of Bethany who, with her brother Lazarus, was so dear to the heart of Christ; and the anointing of his feet with the costly perfume was a natural expression of her deep gratitude to Him for his recent gift of love.

Moreover, this supper at which the spikenard was used is placed, in the fourth Gospel, in such a position that it becomes a very important link in a chain of predetermined circumstances by which Jesus forced the chief men to give up their plan of secret assassination, and substitute for it the fatal accusation of treason, before the Roman governor. And yet this chain is displayed before us, by the writer of this Gospel, in so unostentatious a manner, the linking is revealed, in most cases, in such an evidently undesigned and accidental way, that we cannot believe the story was written in order to explain the other Gospels, much less that it was invented for that purpose. It was written for the simple purpose of telling the facts in their order; and written by one who was in particular sympathy and close companionship with Jesus; so that he knew the facts and their connection.

It seems evident from all the accounts that the chief men had determined that Jesus must die. They were doubtful whether they had legal power to condemn to death; but there were zealots in plenty who could be easily persuaded that they would be doing God service by secretly stabbing this blasphemer to the heart. Our Lord knew this; but a secret death by the dagger would not accomplish his ends. He therefore determined (so the narrative of John will, I think, show us) that since they would in some way kill Him, they should, instead of killing Him by craft in the dark, kill Him publicly upon the cross, in midday, during the Passover week, while Jerusalem was crowded with strangers. Let us look at John's account of things and see if it be not so.

He represents the Master as being in the habit of visiting a family in Bethany, of whom he names three members, Lazarus, and his sisters Mary and Martha. Jesus held them in peculiar regard. Yet when He was told that Lazarus was sick, He refrained for two days from going to him; and when He arrived in Bethany, Lazarus had been dead some days; John at first says four days; but Martha's expression, "He is a fourth day dead" requires really less than three days. Jesus calls him back to life. The account to one who has no metaphysical prejudice against believing what is wonderful in its details is one of the most profoundly natural and truthful of all narratives. On the other hand, to those whose prejudice of that kind is invincible, this account is

one of their strongest reasons for saying that the Gospel could not have been written by John.

But the eleventh chapter of John is to me not only wonderfully true to nature, it gives also the only key to the solution of the puzzles and self-contradictions of the Synoptic Gospels. It makes their accounts perfectly intelligible, and reveals the whole method by which our Lord averted the secret murder which had been determined on, and compelled the plotters to send Him to Pilate. John omits so many events in his history that we cannot determine precisely at what point in the narrative of Matthew the announcement of Lazarus' sickness came. Nor can we tell, from anything which appears on the face of the story, whether Jesus knew of the sickness before it was announced. But his remaining two days in the place where He was indicates that He then knew the use that He would make of it. One reason why He preferred crucifixion to assassination doubtless was that his own death might be certain, in order to make his own resurrection certain; and the same reason required the death of Lazarus to be an assured fact. It may be asked, If the resurrection of Lazarus was also an assured fact, why did it not find a place in the other Gospels? The answer is obvious; John tells us the Jews sought to kill Lazarus also. Regard for his safety would thus make the Apostles and early believers refrain from mentioning his case in their preaching. Thus it would not be likely to get into the Synoptic Gospels, which evidently consist so largely of the current and oft-repeated tales. But although those Gospels do not allude to the raising of Lazarus, their narratives all demand it, as the only plausible explanation of that wonderful triumphant entry into Jerusalem which they all describe.

This raising of Lazarus created, as our Lord must have seen that it would, an intense excitement among the crowd in attendance at the festival, and particularly among the Galileans. There were probably hundreds who were, for the moment, lifted into full faith that this Jesus was the Christ that was to come.

But these hundreds must be made thousands before the next steps could be taken, which should force the chief men to change their plan of secret assassination into an open charge of treason. He therefore retires for a few days to Ephraim (John xi. 54), and thus gave time for the excitement to spread, and the knowledge of the great event to be more widely diffused. But as the excitement spread, its intensity would diminish. In order to bring it up again to the requisite pitch, Jesus returns in a few days to

Bethany, and allows Simon to give a supper in honor of himself and Lazarus. That aroused the enthusiasm anew; this time among a much wider circle, as the city was now full of Israelites from Galilee, as well as from other parts of Palestine.

The next point would be to draw them into some public demonstration of their faith. For this purpose He borrows a young ass from a friend, and when returning from Bethany to Jerusalem rides instead of walking amid the great multitude whom the report of his presence had called out. This modest assumption of a dignity to which He certainly was more than entitled produced the desired effects. First of all, it immediately rendered the zeal of his friends irrepressible; so that they gave Him that triumphal reception which each of the Four Gospels describes, but which the fourth alone renders credible. Secondly, this shouting of hosanna to the Son of David not only gave the chief men the opportunity to accuse Him of treason, it compelled them to bring the charge. That charge is, under a despotic government, feared as being almost the equivalent of a death warrant. If the chief men leave Jesus unmolested, after this public proclamation of his claim to be the King of Israel, they expose themselves to the charge of secretly favoring his claims. If, on the other hand, they carry out the purpose for which they had bribed Judas, and have Him secretly stabbed in Gethsemane, they expose themselves to the popular suspicion, and perhaps to riotous attacks from the mob. They therefore send a posse by night to arrest Him; they first convict Him before their own court of blasphemously claiming to be the Christ, and then send Him to Pilate, saying that He claimed to be King of Israel.

According to all three of the Synoptic Gospels Jesus distinctly acknowledged to Pilate that He was guilty of making that claim; and yet they tell us that Pilate pronounced Him innocent. In this matter, as in many others, the Gospel of John gives, apparently without thinking of it, a complete explanation of the apparent contradiction. Jesus told Pilate that his Kingdom was not of this earth; He revealed and bore testimony to truth; thus those who obey truth obey Him. And Pilate replied, "What is truth" to Rome! No charge of treason can be maintained on that confession. Pilate then wished to release Him; and again it is John's Gospel alone (xix. 12, 13) which shows why He did not dare to do so; he was cowed by the threat of being himself charged with constructive treason if he let that man go.

Thus our Lord had accomplished his purpose; He had delivered

himself from the secret dagger, and compelled the Jews to deliver Him to the Romans to be crucified. He was crucified, and died in a shorter time than usual, as testified in each of the four accounts. He thus escaped having his legs broken, — a circumstance particularly to be noted in connection with his speedy return to life. As I read the Gospel of John I cannot resist the conclusion that Jesus deliberately chose crucifixion in preference to assassination; that, in order to bring it about, He waited beyond Jordan until Lazarus had died; that He then went and called him back to life in the presence of many witnesses, thus rousing the enthusiasm of his followers; but, in order that the enthusiasm might spread to wider circles, and the more crowded days of the Pass-over week arrive, He retired a short time to Ephraim; that He then returned to Bethany, and allowed the Supper to be given to himself and Lazarus, in order to revive and increase the interest which the case of Lazarus had awakened; that He made the arrangement to borrow the ass's colt and ride into town the next morning, because He knew that would make the enthusiasm break out into a public recognition of Him as the King of Israel, and thus force the chief men through fear of the mob to give up the plan of the dagger, and through fear of a charge of treason to send Him to Pilate to be crucified.

But it is sometimes asked, "If He thus chose death by crucifixion, why did He feel such a horror of death in the garden? And why did He feel on the Cross that God had forsaken Him?" I reply, that it appears to me an unfounded assumption to suppose that the agony in the garden was caused by the fear of the Cross. We must certainly admit that his spiritual perceptions were deep, pure, and tender; that his sympathy with his disciples was real and strong; that He understood, as no other man could, the need of his death, the terrible realities of sin, the glories of redemption, the unfathomable mysteries of the Allwise Father's purposes in creation and Providence. It is a small and petty view of the character of Jesus which insists that his agony in the garden was from fear of suffering and death.

And in regard to the cry, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," the more I consider all the circumstances, so much the more firmly I am persuaded that Andrews Norton is right. So far from being a cry of pain and distress, it was the most sublime announcement of his Messianic dignity that He ever made.

In the first place, *forsaken* is, in its connotations, a stronger word than necessary for a translation of עָזַב or even for ἐγκαταλείπω.

"My God, why hast thou left me?" in the hands of my enemies is all that the words necessarily mean. In the second place, the cry is a quotation, — and quotation implies some self-possession, — it is not a probable utterance for great agony. In the third place, the words quoted are the first words of a psalm. But among the Hebrews, as among all other people, ancient or modern, the first words of a lyrical piece are used as the title of the piece. That quotation by the sufferer on the Cross must, therefore, inevitably have had to every hearer of Hebrew birth, whether friend or foe, precisely the effect of saying, "Remember the Twenty-second Psalm." Jesus, himself of Hebrew birth, knew that such would be the effect, and I believe that He meant to recall that psalm to their attention. It had long been considered a Messianic prophecy, and here it was being literally fulfilled before their eyes. He may himself have cared nothing for the literal fulfillment; but the spiritual fulfillment was all-important. The psalm begins with a recital of sorrow, but then suddenly breaks out into praise; declares that God has not forsaken Him, and never forsakes the righteous; that God has heard his prayers, and that all future generations shall praise God for his deliverance. By this reference to the psalm, Jesus said emphatically and effectually to his friends: "Do not let your faith fail because my enemies pierce my hands and my feet, and mocking shake their heads at me; God has not forsaken me; now is the Son of Man being glorified." And this same quotation of the first line said to his foes, in a way that they could not fail to understand, "That Twenty-second Psalm which you call Messianic describes sufferings just such as mine; the triumph which it goes on to describe shall be mine also."

Seeing that the cry, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," is the first line of a familiar psalm, known to his Jewish hearers by that line, interpreted by them as referring to the Messiah, and seeing that the very charge against Jesus was that He claimed to be the Messiah, I do not see how those words, from the lips of the sufferer, could possibly have failed of the effect of openly declaring himself to be the suffering Messiah. So far from seeming to his hearers to be a complaint that God had forsaken Him, it must have seemed to every Jew within hearing to have been a direct assertion to the contrary. There are other considerations, and some of them have decided weight, that go to confirm the conclusions which I have already drawn from the narrative of the Evangelists. The accounts of the crucifixion (Matthew xxvii. 34, 48; Mark xv. 23, 36; Luke xxiii. 34, 43, 46; John xix. 26, 27,

28-30) indicate that Jesus was perfectly self-possessed, declining to take an opiate, but accepting the wine without drugs, and thinking more of others than of himself. He had deliberately chosen that manner of death, and He had not miscalculated his own strength to bear it; but, in the midst of the cruel agonies of the Cross, He with calm dignity referred his foes, and with courageous consolation his friends, to the Twenty-second Psalm.

The mode of his death certainly gives great emphasis to Paul's remarkable statement that Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. Jesus is the only great teacher ever represented as sinless; and not only do the Apostles call Him so, but, which is far more wonderful, the Evangelists never put one word in his mouth that betrays any consciousness of having ever sinned. On the contrary, they report sayings of his which unconsciously betray his ever present consciousness of being perfectly obedient to God. But Him who thus knew no sin, men condemned to the most disgraceful and the most cruelly painful death that the perverted ingenuity of man ever invented. He was, at least in that sense, emphatically made sin for us. Another remarkable doctrine of the New Testament is that Christ is our life, a claim never made for any other teacher. He himself declared, "I am the resurrection and the life;" and it was by a public crucifixion, and the thrusting of a spear in his side as He hung upon the Cross, that the fact of his death was made certain, and thus the fact of his resurrection. And upon this reappearance after death, as Paul, with wonderful earnestness asserts, the living church is founded. Unless He had been crucified, He could not have become the life of his followers in the full sense and manner in which He did.

Of course, it is not for us to know all the reasons which made Him prefer public crucifixion to private assassination. But when we observe the great emphasis with which the Apostles speak of his redeeming us from sin by being himself "made sin," treated as accursed, for us, and when we see the triumphant career of the church, under the banner of the Cross, we get a partial light upon his choice. Again, when we observe how strongly not only the Apostles, but our Lord himself, dwell upon the resurrection, — his laying down his life that He might take it again, his being delivered for our offenses, and raised again for our justification, — we see another reason why He wished a publicly attested death, as a prerequisite to a publicly attested resurrection.

The results to which this inquiry has led me are, I will confess,

satisfactory and agreeable to me. I confess it, although I am aware that with some critics the confession will weaken the value of my arguments. Dr. James Freeman Clarke, in a little pamphlet about the fourth Gospel, expressed pleasure at the results to which he had been led, and was thereupon assured by a writer in the leading review of his denomination that until a man becomes perfectly indifferent to the results of his inquiry, he is not in a fit state of mind to investigate truth. Now this doctrine of the reviewer seems to me to amount to saying that no one but a fool is competent to conduct any important inquiry. Certainly none but a fool can be perfectly indifferent to the results of the inquiry. But a geologist and mineralogist is not rendered incompetent to decide whether a given locality conceals mineral treasure simply because he hopes it does. The canon is evidently absurd in regard to worldly things, and it is equally absurd in reference to spiritual.

The investigation of the causes which forced the Pharisees to so sudden and so complete a change in their plans has given me a new and, to my mind, exceedingly strong argument for the genuineness and authenticity of John's Gospel. Similar arguments have been adduced by other writers; as, for example, Edward Everett Hale has pointed out that Matthew xxiii. 37 is utterly unintelligible, except for the light poured upon it by the writer of the fourth Gospel. I cannot conceive it possible that anything except truth in his narrative should have made it furnish the key to so many and such curiously differing difficulties in the other more traditional Gospels. And this inquiry has also given me a more vivid, and, so to speak, a more human sense of the greatness and majesty of Jesus' character. It gives me a sense of the highest pleasure, mingled with reverence and awe (I would humbly add with love), to see Him thus moulding and controlling the feelings and actions alike of friend and foe; without display, without word of command, without taking counsel of others; simply using and controlling men and events to the fulfillment of his own purposes. Never man spake like that man; never was Hebrew prophet or heathen sage thus able like a Divine Providence to control the raging fury of foes, and guide the zeal of friends, at his own will, without either friend or foe recognizing that

The passive [actors] lent [their] hand
To the vast soul that o'er them planned.

Thomas Hill.

PORTLAND, MAINE.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN ENGLAND.¹

UNDER the system of compulsory education, the English are fast becoming a nation of readers. But those who receive only an elementary education are likely to give all the time they have for reading to sensational newspapers and useless books. The demand that the people should be supplied with good books is being met by a remarkable increase in the number of public libraries. Yet there is a strong feeling that public libraries by themselves do not meet the case. The least improving books are most often chosen. People need to be taught to select good books. An interest in the right kind of reading must be aroused and fostered. For this purpose, the general resources of literature and science must be opened and explained.

Thus compulsory elementary education soon makes it necessary to provide for more advanced education. Schools for secondary education and for technical and agricultural training are rapidly increasing. The government made a large grant last summer to aid schools of this kind. But for the more general education of the people, the hope of the future seems to lie with the University Extension movement.

The old English universities are practically limited to the rich. There has long been a feeling among the best men of Oxford and Cambridge that the privileges of the universities ought to be much more widely shared. But there has been very little effort toward bringing students from the working classes into the life of the universities. Almost the only improvement in this respect has been that of granting to students the freedom of living outside the colleges, and thus avoiding a number of special charges. There is a strong opinion among the cultured class that to reduce the expense of education at the preparatory schools and universities would involve too great a lowering of their dignity and social standing. So the change has come almost entirely in the way of carrying university teaching to the working people.

As early as 1860, a system of local examinations was begun by both universities, designed to direct and improve the education given in schools in the cities. This plan gradually developed,

¹ The best account of University Extension is given in a little book entitled *University Extension: Has It a Future?* by H. J. Mackinder, M. A., and M. E. Sadler, M. A., of Oxford University. London: Henry Frowde. 1890. A good part of the data for the article has been obtained from this book.

and in the end furnished a framework for the extension of university teaching. Professor James Stuart, then of Cambridge, now a prominent radical member of Parliament and editor of the London "Star," began courses of lectures in manufacturing towns in 1867. In 1872, he addressed a letter to the members of the University, proposing a plan of University Extension by local lectures. A syndicate was appointed by the University to consider the matter, and in the next year it was decided to give the plan a trial. Many difficulties were met at first, but the movement was so successful that in 1876 the Society for the Extension of University Teaching was formed in London, and two years later the University of Oxford formally undertook extension work. Recently, extension courses were begun by the new Victoria University at Manchester.

The three universities and the London society all carry on their work independently. The general body of each university appoints a committee to direct its extension system. In general, the Cambridge centres are in the eastern half of England, the Oxford centres in the western half. The Victoria University gives courses in and about Manchester, and the London society has charge of all the centres in and near London. There is more or less loss of force through competition and divided efforts. However, one university would never think of entering a neighborhood where a centre had already been established by another university. It is claimed that a little of the good-natured rivalry which seems always associated with university life will do no harm. There are tendencies which diminish the element of competition. It is becoming common for the centres to select their lecturers from either the Cambridge or the Oxford list, as they please. The London society, which is made up of Cambridge, Oxford, and London graduates, has a list of its own, but its branches may ask through its central office for the services of any of the lecturers on the Cambridge and Oxford lists. One good result of independent action has been that the plan of each agency has differed in details from the others, so that the system as a whole has been more fully developed than it would have been under the undisturbed action of a general organization.

There are now about two hundred and fifty extension centres in England. It is estimated that there were somewhat more than 41,000 attendants at the courses in the year 1889-90. The growth of the movement may be fairly indicated by the fact that in 1885-86 the total attendance was only 16,752. Extension

work is being taken up in Scotland, where it is to be in charge of a joint board representing the different universities. A system is already organized and will, no doubt, soon be well established in America.

The local centres usually have their origin through some university man, or other intelligent person, who is acquainted with the extension movement and wishes to try to gain its benefits for his own town. Through his influence, a committee is formed, and a secretary for the branch appointed. Then a good deal of active missionary work has to be done to get people sufficiently interested to come to the lectures and pay the fees. In most cases, a public meeting is held, at which some representative of University Extension is present to give information. As soon as it becomes possible to guarantee the payment of the lecturer's charges, the centre is ready to begin its work. Sometimes the lectures are given at a local college, and are made part of its programme. Public libraries and mechanics' institutes occasionally take the responsibility of engaging the lecturers. There are some interesting instances in the North of England where centres are organized by coöperative societies and are attended by their members. It is generally an advantage when the centre can be associated with the educational influences of some existing institution. The promoters of the movement especially desire that an extension centre should exist side by side with a public library in every town in the country.

The members of a centre have a rather wide range of choice as to both subjects and lecturers. Some men of standing have, out of interest in the movement, given courses of extension lectures. But for the most part, the work is undertaken by young graduates, who have only the recognition they have gained in their university studies. Up to the present, it has been looked upon, even by the young men, as only a temporary avocation. It seems likely, however, as the system is developing so rapidly, that the work of extension lecturer will soon become a regular occupation. There are a few men now who have given most of their time for a number of years to extension lecturing. But the duties are arduous and the pay not large, so that a good lecturer soon has more promising opportunities offered him. One who gives his whole time to extension teaching will lecture five evenings and sometimes three or four afternoons per week during the term. Each lecture includes some class work, and examination of students' papers. Other disadvantages are the journeys by railroad

and absence from home. The largest income yet made by an extension lecturer — and that by a man of great ability and endurance — was somewhat more than \$2,500. For a single course of twelve lectures, a lecturer receives about \$175.

What the leaders in the movement are now trying for is so to reduce the work and traveling of regular lecturers, and so to increase their incomes, that it may be worth the while of the best men to enter upon and continue in the extension service. They are determined to have for their leading lecturers a number of men of proved ability and standing. They see how the loss of some three or four of the present lecturers, who do answer to this description, would seriously embarrass them, and they are anxious that the movement should not remain in so precarious a condition.

At the same time, notwithstanding their desire for men of experience, they believe it to be one of the advantages of the system that it finds promising young graduates and introduces them into educational work. Any young university man may apply for an appointment as lecturer. His college record is examined. He must have had experience in speaking in public. He must be thoroughly acquainted with the extension system. Finally, he must deliver to a private audience the course of lectures he proposes to give. If all tests are satisfactorily passed, a small sum of money is voted to send him to some typical centres, in order that he may see senior lecturers at their work.

It is an important fact, and the promoters of University Extension do not forget it, that the extension type of lecturer needs to be different from that of resident lecturer at a university. He cannot expect to find his hearers already interested in his subject, but must begin by arousing them to its importance. His way of presenting it must be very clear and simple. He must have some of the traits of a public speaker, in order to hold the attention of a general audience. He needs to have a turn for organization in order to bring up to their highest efficiency the centres to which he goes. Not the least important thing is that he should enter his work with a desire for the improvement of social conditions, and a belief that University Extension may be made an important factor in bringing about the good change.

The general machinery of University Extension is very well devised. Considering the methods already generally used and those just being introduced, the system seems admirably complete. The two old universities and the London society each have a head office

in charge of men who give their whole time to directing extension work. Early in the spring of every year, the list of subjects in history, economics, literature, and science, with the names of the lecturers, is made out and sent to the local centres. The secretary of each centre must report his committee's first, second, and third choices for lecturers and subjects. From all the applications, the assignments are made out according to the selection of places by lecturers, and the possibility of convenient railway arrangements. By the middle of the summer, the programme is complete.

Up to the present, the lectures have been given in two terms of twelve weeks each, separated by the Christmas holidays. Recently, in answer to a demand which arose from the centres themselves, additional courses have been given in the spring. As a rule, each centre has only one course of lectures presented during a term. The course given in the second term generally continues the subject treated in the first term. The Cambridge and London courses consist of twelve lectures delivered weekly. The Oxford courses consist of from six to twelve lectures, which are given only once a fortnight. In order that the lectures may be as thorough as possible, a course nearly always includes only a part of a subject. A course will be not on English history, but on one or two periods of English history; not on physics, but on light, or heat, or electricity. This may seem to give students a rather narrow scope for their whole winter's study; but of course the time of the students is quite limited, and they are compelled to get variety by securing a difference of subject from winter to winter. Some of the stronger centres have several courses going on at the same time, so that persons can pursue as many different studies as their circumstances allow. At any rate, the plan of limiting the range of courses tends to free the system from the danger of superficiality which constantly threatens it.

Great pains are taken in conducting the classes to give the students good facilities and to make their study effective. To begin with, the subject of the lectures to be given in the fall is known to the students usually as early as July. Some time before the term opens, full printed outlines of the course are in the hands of the students, which direct their reading and help them in following the lectures. The outlines contain lists of books recommended to be read in connection with the lectures. In order to supply the students with the necessary books, Oxford has what are called "traveling libraries." The central extension office

secures about forty of the best books on each subject taken up. Each centre then can have a set of books on the subject it is pursuing. The libraries are sent to the different centres, and the books either loaned in rotation to the students, or deposited in some convenient place as a reference library. There is coming to be in this way a large central library at Oxford, made up, not of a great diversity of books, but of a considerable number of copies of each of the standard books in the different branches. It is hoped that the library will grow so as to meet all demands the students may put upon it.

The lectures are an hour in length. As far as possible, specimens and diagrams are brought into use. The magic lantern is found to be a very valuable aid. Many times, advantage can be taken of local facilities for illustrating historical and scientific subjects. With every lecture, a number of questions are given out for further study. The students are expected to write out their replies to these and send them by mail to the lecturer. They are encouraged to study independently and to express their own opinions in their papers. In connection with every lecture, a class is held lasting three quarters of an hour or longer. Of course many attend the lectures who do no outside work. At the classes, only the more earnest students are expected to attend. With this smaller circle, the lecturer explains points not understood, and discusses the subject further. Pupils and teacher have an opportunity to get acquainted. The papers which have been sent in are returned with oral comment or a written criticism.

Students who attend two thirds or three fourths of these classes, and write the same proportion of papers in answer to the list of questions given out, are eligible to the examination, which is held at the centre at the end of each course by some university man other than the lecturer. As a result of the examination, all who pass receive a certificate, the best students have honors assigned to them, and the one standing first is awarded a prize. The certificates and special honors are presented at a public meeting, at which some important person in the neighborhood is invited to speak. The appointed course of study for the regular students is six terms, running through a period of three years. Many of the students continue to follow the courses after this period has expired.

No centre is complete without its students' association. Those associations are formed for the purpose of taking charge of the work of the centre, and for encouraging study preliminary and

supplementary to the lectures and classes. They hold meetings while the lectures are in course of being delivered, in which they review and discuss the preceding lecture and try to prepare for a thorough understanding of the lecture to come. This use of the associations is larger under the Oxford system, in which the lectures are fortnightly, than in the others in which the lectures are given once a week. The associations devise plans for systematic study after the lectures are over. In the summer, they organize excursions to places that appeal to intelligent interest. There are plans for courses of home reading issued from the head offices, and so far as these are taken up, the associations have been the mediums through which they have been introduced.

There are now several general associations which aim to include all the centres, whether connected with Oxford or Cambridge, in a certain district. The latest association formed announces as its objects, — the organization and extension of university teaching in its district; the suggestion of subjects and lectures, and the grouping of centres for the convenient arrangement of lectures; the organization of lectures and systematic work, in vacation; the formation of a student's library, and the lending of books; the promotion of higher education generally. These district associations are in several respects an advance in the system. They tend to obliterate the distinction between Oxford and Cambridge centres. They relieve the head office of much difficulty, arranging through conference among their members for convenient circuits for the lecturers. Dr. R. D. Roberts, secretary of the London society, has proposed that through these associations a kind of floating local college might be formed.¹ A senior lecturer would have to be assigned to the special charge of its work. He would be expected to lecture in his district during the winter, beside giving constant advice and direction to the local committees and the district association. Dr. Roberts suggests that the plan might be the means of providing a place of sufficient honor and salary to command the services of men of the type of university professors, — a class of men whose assistance the promoters of University Extension are so anxious to gain. It is hoped, also, that the district associations will be able to be of value in introducing the benefits of the system into the small country villages.

Mr. M. E. Sadler, the University Extension Secretary at Ox-

¹ *Cambridge University Local Lectures; Seventeenth Annual Report of the Syndicate*, p. 6. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1890.

ford, has suggested in a recent article a plan by which four towns near each other could establish a joint college.¹ Mr. Sadler says that five professors would be sufficient at first. Whether one town was made headquarters for the rest, or not, each professor would visit each town once a week, to lecture and conduct classes during the day and in the evening. Under the direction of one of the professors, acting as principal, and through the assistance of public-spirited residents of the towns, the organization of the college would gradually be perfected, and the means solicited from local benefactors for endowments and buildings.

It is significant in connection with the growth of University Extension, how local colleges have increased in England. Within the last fifteen years, local colleges have been established in nearly every city of any considerable importance; or, if such institutions already existed, they have been strengthened and developed. University Extension has had a great influence in this movement. Some of these colleges can be traced back directly to extension centres. The others have been assisted and encouraged by extension workers. The relationship is still kept up by having University Extension lectures given at the local colleges. Also, there is a constant tendency for the stronger centres to become assimilated to a college. They have their organized student body. They are coming to have their own libraries, or they have some special relation to a local library or museum. By having entertainments, informal gatherings, and excursions, of their own, a distinctive social life is developed. At the Toynbee Hall centre, in London, there are two students' dwellings, named after Oxford colleges, — Wadham House and Balliol House, — in which clerks, artisans, and board-school masters live a kind of college life while attending the Toynbee lectures. A students' dwelling, on the same plan, has been opened in connection with the Chelsea centre, in London. It seems not unlikely that this plan may be adopted by many city centres. If so, it will go far toward getting the extension system established and entrenched.

The London society is trying hard to have the University of London become the nucleus of a great people's university. At present, the University of London does no teaching and has no resident students. It is merely an examining board with power to grant degrees. The London society proposes that the University shall affiliate to itself all the extension centres in London. While it shall assist the centres in their work, its main usefulness

¹ *Paternoster Review*, December, 1890.

shall be that of a teaching university, to which the most promising of the extension students shall be enabled to go for more advanced university studies. Cambridge University has an arrangement with certain centres similar to the one proposed by the London society. This is a development of a plan followed by both the old universities, by which they affiliate local colleges. In addition to some other privileges granted these colleges, their students have one of the three required years of residence remitted by the universities. Cambridge gives the same privileges to several affiliated extension centres, on condition that the students desiring to avail themselves of them shall take a systematic course of lectures on literature and science, extending through a period of four years. The main value of this plan is in that it gives breadth and sequence to the courses followed from term to term. It is acknowledged by all interested in the movement that there is a lack of these things in extension study. Oxford and the London society try to meet the difficulty by giving special certificates to those who have followed plans of continuous and systematic study.

For keeping up the relation of the local centres to the university, Oxford relies especially upon the summer meetings. The first summer meeting was held at Oxford, in 1888. The session lasted ten days, and there were nine hundred students present. In 1889, there was a second session of two weeks after the first one of ten days had closed. Last summer the attendance was not so large as the summer before, when there were fully a thousand students present. But last summer there was a larger proportion of working-people present, and a larger number of students than before remained through the double session. During the first part of the meeting, courses of three lectures are delivered in the mornings. In the evenings, there are addresses by eminent men, social meetings, and concerts. The afternoons, in accordance with the good Oxford custom, are largely occupied with out-door sports. The second session is quieter and less hurried. The subjects taken up at the first session are continued with greater fullness. There is more time given for reading.

Undoubtedly, the summer meeting furnishes a good deal more to the students than they can possibly assimilate, especially to those who remain only ten days. But those who manage the meetings feel that both the longer and the shorter sessions are in their different ways successful. It is no small matter that the summer meeting introduces into the extension system the element

of actual residence at a university. The extension students live in the colleges in much the same way as the Oxford students themselves live in term time. They listen to well-known university professors, and get acquainted with them at the social meetings. They breathe a little of that charmed atmosphere lingering about the old universities, which exercises so great an influence on the whole cultured life of England. The Cambridge summer meeting, on account of lack of accommodation, — many of the university students staying up during vacation, — numbers only about forty. But the smallness of number allows of more thorough and valuable results being gained. The students remain a month, and are engaged in close laboratory work on the subjects they have had lectures upon during the preceding winter. A number of scholarships have recently been established upon which promising students may be sent to one or other summer meeting. The larger proportion of students at both meetings are women. They stay at the women's colleges, — Newnham and Girton, at Cambridge, Lady Margaret and Somerville Hall, at Oxford, — as far as there is room for them.

The extension movement has been criticised because it ministers so largely to middle-class people, and especially to women. To this the reply is that though more working-people are very much wanted, yet it is the function of University Extension to yield its benefits to all who seek them. Special arrangements are even made for afternoon lectures to suit the convenience of women. These afternoon lectures are attended to a considerable extent by elementary school teachers, male and female.

But, after all, the final test of the movement will undoubtedly be whether it can reach the intellectual need of working-people. There are many encouraging signs of the ability of the University Extension movement to meet this test. There are some thriving centres among the miners in the North of England. The lectures are largely attended, and the miners show their interest by coming long distances, and often by losing something from their wages in order to get away from their work in time. Recently, when several of the centres had to suspend their lectures on account of a strike which was going on, one centre arranged an exhibition in its village, which, by the coöperation of some other centres, brought in sufficient funds to justify their engaging a course of lectures as usual. Aid has been secured from the mine-owners and others to assist in continuing the lectures in this district.

In nearly all towns, there is a fair proportion of artisan students. In the north, they take a special interest in University Extension. In many cases, they have organized centres of their own, often, as has been mentioned, under the auspices of their local coöperative societies. Sometimes extension work is aided by the funds of coöperative societies. There is an increasing number of coöperators who believe that their system ought to make some regular provision for the education of its members. There can certainly be no question that English workingmen are learning to appreciate the value of education. Most of the labor leaders are men who have risen by educating themselves at the cost of a great deal of self-denial. It is clearly recognized that intelligent men are necessary to direct the business of the trade unions. The prominence of this type of workingman exerts in turn a considerable influence on the rank and file. The University Extension system seems destined to meet this increasing desire of the working-classes for education. What is most of all needed, in order that university teaching may be brought to workingmen, is lecturers who shall understand workingmen and be ready to meet them on a plane of equality. The number of university graduates of this type is largely on the increase. The importance given to social studies at the universities, and the interest felt in the university settlements, as well as in the extension movement itself, are strong tendencies toward bringing educated men into right relations with workingmen.

A good deal of missionary effort is needed for the developing and strengthening of the system. More and more attention is being given to the establishing of centres in places where they have not sprung up spontaneously after the manner already described. In many cases, centres are gotten together by means of single popular lectures, or by short experimental courses. The need of men to act as organizers is felt more and more. As time goes on, there will probably be a body of men whose whole duty will be that of forerunners to the prophets that are to come.

It is at this point that the promoters of University Extension most feel the need of financial resources. The law of diminishing returns begins to operate. An average fee of twenty-five cents per lecture from each person may be borne by middle-class people, and may support the less complicated and less complete methods of the system as it now is. But if University Extension is to be a comprehensive scheme for the higher education of the people, — as it can be and ought to be, — the way must be opened

for it to increase its forces and develop its methods, while at the same time it puts its advantages easily within the means of every workingman. Many of those interested in the movement are in favor of making an appeal for state aid. They are encouraged in their hopes by the grants voted by Parliament for the development of technical education and for the assistance of local colleges. Others fear that government aid would mean government domination. But this objection is put forward rather as a caution than as a hindrance to the proposal. And it is a caution to be observed, because it would be a great loss if the movement were no longer to be directed from the universities. When this is allowed, however, one can easily see that something of national dignity and national resources, added to the valuable elements the system already possesses, would open up to University Extension vast and inspiring possibilities.

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SOME PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE SCHOOL OF 1830.

THE exhibition last winter in New York of the Barye Collection of pictures and bronzes afforded a good opportunity for studying the work of what is called the Barbizon School of French artists, but is more correctly named the School of 1830. This exhibition included the works of Millet, Barye, Daubigny, Troyon, Rousseau, Corot, Decamps, Diaz, Delacroix, Dupré, and Gérault. The name "Barbizon School" is a misnomer, because only two of its important members, Millet and Rousseau, had a permanent residence at Barbizon, although other artists of the group came there frequently.

Doubtless life at Barbizon, and the great epic of the forest close at hand, had much influence in moulding the work of the school, which presents as marked a contrast to the artificiality of the art which preceded it as we find between the quiet spaces of the forest and the glare and rattle of Parisian streets. The true basis of classification, however, is not found in the surroundings of any school, but in the new impulse of soul which led its members to seek such surroundings. Daubigny, one of the greatest men of the School of 1830, felt the same need of an intimate relation

with nature which inspired Millet and Rousseau, but satisfied it elsewhere than at Barbizon.

The group of men of whom we speak stands, perhaps, too near to us in point of time to admit of our forming a correct estimate of their work; but it is interesting to make the attempt.

We think their greatness will be found to lie in a reconciliation of the differences of realism and idealism. Not by a compromise between the two, but by seeing in both the manifestation of a truth larger than either; realism concerning itself with that truth as already embodied in nature, and idealism striving to give to it further embodiment. These artists found that the simplest object could be represented faithfully only by the observance of certain principles, and in studying their works we shall try to show that these principles, if accepted as of general application and not merely as rules for securing some special effect, will open the door to all the highest and soundest idealism.

One great discovery of the school was the theory of "values." The word values (*les valeurs*) is constantly heard in French artistic parlance, but it is so technical that for the general reader it may be worth while to give a simple explanation of its meaning. The values are the proportionate relations of the different parts of any work to each other.

Every picture has its high light, to which every other light in the picture must bear a proportionate relation, and the same is true of the dark elements of the picture. Of course the variations and gradations of light are almost infinite. It would seem at first as if the artist who could make the most subtle discriminations among these would have the greatest success, but this is not the case. Subtlety of discrimination is good only as a secondary quality, and when kept in abeyance by a perception of the larger, more fundamental relations of the parts. A simple illustration will suffice to show this.

Take a figure dressed in black velvet with a white ruff, seated before a gray or red wall. If we look at it simply, not scrutinizing over much, we see four clearly discriminated values. The ruff is white. The dress is black. The face and hands are light, though not as light as the ruff; while the background is of a tint which contrasts vigorously with both of these, but which yet does not approach the blackness of the velvet. The best way to begin a picture of this figure is to put down the spots formed by these simple masses, giving to each its right relation to every other; leaving the white of the paper for the ruff, putting on the

blackest of charcoal for the velvet, rubbing the background to a suitable gray, and throwing a very slight tint over the face and hands, just enough to distinguish them from the pallor of the ruff. The picture is then well started. The large masses being clearly laid out, we have a sure guide as to the darkness or lightness of all the details that must go into these masses to define and express the figure more fully. The slight lines of light that mark the folds of the velvet, the delicate darks that suggest the flutings and borderings of the ruff, the subtle modelings of the face and hands, all these are now permissible just so far as they can be put into their respective masses without destroying the clear distinction between the masses themselves, *and no further*.

The majority of bad drawing is such because this latter point is not observed; because the artist in his intense desire to do justice to every detail of the face, for instance, uses tints that belong to other parts of the picture, and does not force and condense his details into the mass of which they form a part. He gives us an elaborate over-modeled statement of what the face is like, but by so doing he makes the face dark and muddy, and the joy we feel in the clear contrast between skin and velvet is all lost. Of course the restriction of keeping details within their proper masses makes the work, in a way, more difficult, but it will readily be seen that this difficulty, once mastered, is an added means of expression. How are we to show whether a person is blonde or brunette except by the degree of contrast between the hair and eyes and the skin, and how are we to tell whether a robe is of satin or velvet except by the nicely adjusted values of its lights and shadows, the sheeny planes of the satin, or the hardly perceptible lines of light along the folds of the velvet, each kept within the proper mass? The different planes of satin must bear a true relation to each other if we wish to show that the dress is made of satin, but the whole mass of the dress into which all these different planes with their subtle mutual relations must go may be either lighter or darker than the face, according as the dress is of white satin or of some darker tint. Thus the values serve to define both the individual quality of any object, and also its relation to surrounding objects.

Another tenet of the school was the "integrity of the subject," the essential and inalienable right of a thing to exist by virtue of its truth and reality, without calling in the support of remote or fantastic suggestions of theoretical beauty. This tenet is the word of the realist, while the theory of values is the word of the ideal-

ist. That both should be pronounced at the same time and held by the same school is in itself evidence that in the work of that school a reconciliation of the two attitudes will be found.

The integrity of the subject and the theory of values seem at first wholly at variance. How can a subject have integrity, — in other words, an independent right to exist, — if the great essential in art is the relation that things bear to each other? And how can a perception of values affirm some things and reject others, in obedience to a law of its own, if all have an equal right to exist? The truth seems to be found only by holding both these opposing principles as of equal importance, and letting them interact to modify each other.

It may help us to see the connection between them if we merge them both in another phrase, "the law of the whole." Wholeness and integrity really mean the same thing. The integrity of anything is its wholeness, the mutual consistency of its parts. The "integrity of the subject," then, means that coherence and logical relation between the elements of a picture which give it wholeness and reality. But the law of the whole is also the secret of the "values." It is because the values, when carefully observed, always tend to the expression of wholeness that they have such a compelling power. This is obvious in the representation of any simple object, but when we go a step higher and try to combine a number of objects into an ideal whole, it is not quite so easy to see.

What is the essential nature of an ideal whole? We may say that it is always the identifying and recombining of two opposing elements. At some point in every composition, where the interest centres, the two elements, be they dark and light, warm and cold colors, or on a higher plane, contrasted types and emotions, are brought into an opposition that enhances both. The rest of the composition shows the recombination of the two, one element surely gaining the advantage over the other, or else the work would not have unity, but gaining it through more or less of conflict and reaction, according as the effect intended is that of repose or strife. Such a whole as this may exist and be expressed on any plane. It may be merely the contrast of a tree with a cloud that furnishes the text to an artist, or he may find his material in human emotions and in the general play of life. Nor need the contrast be a salient one. Much good work is done to-day on the most delicate themes, but the contrast must be there, and in measure as it is clearly felt, the basis of reconciliation

suggested, and the logic of this reconciliation carried into every part of the work, will the picture have ideality and wholeness. The values express this logic of reconciliation, the necessary attitude of every part of a picture in view of the true relation of contrast between its major elements.

In all this we have surely sufficient proof that the proportionate relations or values in any work owe their compelling power to some whole which formulates itself in these relations. The law of the whole is thus the connecting link between the two tenets of the School of 1830. The doctrine of the integrity of the subject is but a paraphrase of it, while the doctrine of the values expresses the compelling nature of certain relations of contrasted elements which, as we discover, derive their compulsory power from some as yet unrealized whole which is seeking expression through them, but to which the average mind is not immediately sensitive. As each of these tenets modifies the other, it is evident that the whole truth cannot reside in either, but must be sought in an ideal relation between the two.

The artist, whose phrases are the result merely of his practical experience, does not think to mention the wholeness in connection with the values, because it is embodied in himself. We hear him speak of the "ensemble" as something to be always kept in view, but he does not ask what the ensemble is, or by what authority he perceives it. The fact is that he overlooks it theoretically, because it is in himself. By his very vocation he is constructive. He sees willingly none but coherent wholes, whose coherence is the very law of his being, that rare and beautiful something which fits him above other men for the career of art. What is this rare thing, if it be not a more perfect perception of wholes than is given to the average man; a more definite and compelling personality which renders him sensitive to wholes of truth and beauty in the world about him, forcing him to distinguish certain elements above others, and so enabling him to eliminate wholes of coherent relations from the mass of material by which he is surrounded? Many things he simply does not see, while others take form for him and fall into certain relations which he hastens to set forth, and which when set forth are recognized by others as wholes, that is, as worthy and real existences.

Where comes in the difference between the realist and the idealist, since both believe in observing the values, or law of the whole, as the best means of attaining their several ends? Their difference seems to lie in the fact that the realist sees wholes only

in the external world, and thinks of the values merely as a means of reproducing such wholes as already exist, while the idealist dreams of larger wholes than are yet expressed in nature, and in his eagerness to set forth their ideal values, is often blind to the law of the whole as demanding his allegiance on the natural plane before he can paint so much as a rock or a tree in a convincing manner.

Neither the realist nor the idealist thinks of the law of the whole as greater than himself. To the realist the values mean merely a way of looking at things that has been found useful. If he accepted them as the law of the whole, and the law of the whole as a universal principle, he would find himself compelled by its assertion of the transcendent importance of the larger relations, to break up his circumference, as it were, and, while he saw things as wholes, still to see them as modified by their relation to larger wholes, and these again to still larger ones reaching into the ethical realm, until he became an idealist in spite of himself. As it is, he is satisfied with the sanctions of the deep truth that he is conscious of being brought into contact with in studying the values on the external plane, not perceiving that the law of the whole carried a step higher might readjust things, and thereby possibly modify the aim of his work.

The idealist, on the other hand, absorbed in the higher relations, the dramatic and spiritual values, is seldom willing to trust the law of the whole as greater than himself, and modestly to limit his effort to the representation of some obscure life like that of Millet's peasants, or some simple scene like one of Daubigny's twilights, in the faith that by painting these with a just discrimination of values they will thereby acquire an ideal significance, because they will show forth a truth larger than themselves. Millet felt this possibility of linking the real and immediate to the ideal and permanent, and proclaims it as the proper aim of art. He says: "Every landscape, however small, should contain the possibility of being indefinitely extended. Every horizon, however narrow, should be felt to be a segment of the great circle that sweeps round the globe."

In such doing of the smallest things on the largest principles we see how each of the tenets of the School of 1830 modifies the other. We see that while any subject has integrity in the sense of an *individual* right to exist because it is different from everything else, it nevertheless cannot claim an *independent* right to exist because it depends for its existence on the law of the whole.

On the other hand, we see how the theory of values which, with its assertion of the transcendence of the larger relations, if taken alone, would carry its adherent through one group of relations into a larger one, and then into a larger one still, hurrying him off the solid earth, is yet so far held in check by the doctrine of the integrity of the subject, with its compelling demand for reality, that men find it better to limit themselves to very simple subjects in art, because only within such limits are they adequate to the task of presenting the elements in that right relation which alone can make the work true and beautiful. A theatrical art may give us thunder-storms, lakes, waterfalls, and rainbows, all on the same canvas, but in looking at it we instinctively miss the compelling beauty of that just relation of parts which fascinates us in some little hillside, with a tree against the sky, painted on a truer artistic principle.

The perception of the law of relative values as the secret of unity in artistic expression was a re-discovery of the ideal, a discovery of the principles of the ideal from the point of view of the actual, consecrating nature as it had never been consecrated before by seeing in nature a genuine manifestation of the ideal, an ever-recurring exposition of the truth that the relation of facts to each other transcends in beauty and importance the facts themselves.

This is certainly a sound basis for idealism to stand on, and on the plane of mere treatment it is accepted by all the best modern French art. But only a few of the clever French artists have been deeply enough imbued with it as a universal principle to see its bearings on the higher plane of the subject-matter of pictures, and consequently they are satisfied with expressing contemporary life, etc., just as they see it, without pausing to receive the impression of those values in the ethical realm which would infallibly show them that many subjects had better not be painted at all, and that others could be modified to great advantage.

We think it is the chief glory and distinction of the School of 1830 that its great men recognized in the values the true ideal basis for the treatment of natural fact, and that having in themselves (though perhaps unconsciously) this reconciliation of the differences of realism and idealism, they worked out from it in two directions, becoming great realists by virtue of their careful study of natural facts in their bearings on one another, and at the same time great idealists by their willingness to modify these seen and actual relations when a higher consideration of ideal propriety

bade them do so. Such modification, be it observed, is a very different thing from tampering with the values on the natural plane because one has not thoroughly mastered them there, and trying to impose on the beholder a work called ideal which has not gone through the discipline of the actual.

The atmosphere of the modern French atelier may be trusted to repress precocious idealism, but the students who worked in a certain Boston studio twenty years ago will recall with amusement a frequently repeated experience. They went to work with ardor on each new model, and their hope of getting a likeness always ran high at the beginning of the sitting; but as the work progressed, because they knew little of the deep mysteries of drawing and color, it usually became evident that their pictures would not resemble the model in the slightest degree. At first they felt discouraged when they perceived this, but then came the consoling thought, "It shall not be a mere portrait, I will turn it into a fancy picture!" and so, after they had stuck a rose in the model's hair, or added some quip intended to claim high and romantic meaning for their work, their wretched sketches, which could not even stammer out the truth about the model, undertook to suggest the ideal — what ideal they would have been puzzled to tell, but they wanted something higher than the truth because they could not grasp the truth itself.

Quite other than this is the process of modification that we discern in the development of Millet's picture of the Sheepfold. In the Barye Collection both the crayon sketch and the finished picture were shown. The first was evidently a drawing of the sheepfold by moonlight just as Millet had seen it. The sheep crowding into an inclosure made by light hurdles, the shepherd's hut close by, and the shepherd himself with stick upraised, standing at the gate of the fold to see that all entered in good order; the whole scene bathed in effluent light from the moon hanging low in the heavens. It was a poem just as it existed, and appealed to Millet's sense of the beautiful. But when he had made the sketch and pondered on his work, receiving more and more of the suggestion of peace and tender shepherding that made it lovely, he saw how this sentiment might be defined and brought out by some slight changes, and these changes we find in the finished picture. Most noteworthy of them is the altered way in which the shepherd holds his stick. In the sketch he grasps it by one end, and one feels that some vigorous inducements may be applied to the sheep by means of it, as was probably the fact; but

when Millet lifts the subject into the ideal realm he feels that the staff should be rather the symbol of power than its vengeful executive, so in the finished picture the shepherd grasps it by the middle, and holds it aloft more as a sceptre than a rod.

In all this we see how nature furnished Millet with the materials for his art, and he became her humble student; but, at the same time, the law of the whole, which he discovered through nature, emancipated him from her to the extent of making him dare to sacrifice an actual relation of facts to a possible relation, so long as the possible relation was in the line of and in accordance with the principles discernible through nature, though not to be completely expressed by her without the aid of man. Such helping nature out, as it were, is quite a different thing from contemptuously or arbitrarily twisting her facts to express a humanly conceived ideal, and in this difference lies the secret of the elevating influence of all true art, as contrasted with didactic art. A man like Millet paints without didactic intent. He sees a beautiful truth, loves it, and embodies it on his canvas, and just because it is true and beautiful it has a persuasiveness and force that is lacking to the words of the exhorter and apologist. It is when we have only a partial hold on truth that we defend her with noisy utterance; when we really possess her she speaks for herself.

After this explanation of the fundamental principles of the School of 1830, we may proceed to trace their working in individual members of the school. We will take for illustrations only the pictures and bronzes exhibited at the Barye Collection, in the hope that these may be still fresh in the memory of some readers.

Corot was preëminently an idealist, both in choice of subject and in treatment. He was a realist only by virtue of his intense susceptibility to certain elements of beauty in nature of which he may be said to be almost the discoverer, but these very elements are the ideal elements of the landscape, the delicate and subtle relations of tone and color. His lack of the individualizing scientific spirit of characterization leaves us often in doubt as to what kind of tree he is painting. The one thing that he cared for out of all nature's fair sights was the delicate harmony and tender promise of an evanescent moment in the life of a day or a year that all other artists had overlooked. It is said that he sketched chiefly in the early dawn; the hard, clear revelation of the midday light had small charm for him. The tender mysteries of twilight and yet more the elusive grace of the new-born day, the delicate promise of the opening spring, these appealed

to him. The sentiment of his landscape is that of an airy prelude, hinting with chaste reserve at all the richer glories and harmonies that are to follow, but so dainty in its modulations, so exquisite in its sympathy, that it clings to the soft mystery of grayness and dawn from which it has emerged, with the appealing charm of a new-born child. If Corot puts figures into his pictures, they are the natural outcome and development of the landscape. Fauns or wood sprites play in the shadow, nymphs dance with Arcadian grace, or the laurel-crowned Apollo with his lyre salutes the evening star.

Daubigny, too, was a poet and idealist by temperament, but at the same time much more of a realist than Corot, as is shown by the simplicity with which he responded to the beauty close at hand, finding abundant material in many subjects that would be deemed prosaic by those artists who think they must travel to the antipodes and surprise nature in some wayward and passionate mood, before they can find anything worthy of their brush. Daubigny paints the simplest French scenery, perhaps a long green river bank under a gray sky, but he does it with such high idealism in the sense of absolute loyalty to the values, that his pictures thrill us by their penetrating reality — not the arid reality of the commonplace, but the reality that comes from recognizing the greatness of nature even through her simplest expression.

A fine self-restraint also impresses us in Daubigny's pictures. When he paints the close of day, instead of piling up the gorgeous colors of sunset and giving us a surfeit on his canvas, he waits until the sun has passed from sight, and become a memory, a desire. Then he paints the sky with such tenderness of gathering grays and with such delicate and true gradations of yellows or faint rose tints, that, while we are never at a loss to know where the sun sank behind the horizon, it is all indicated with such reserve that it whets our appetite for color and leaves us hungry for more. What is left out of the picture affects us as deeply as what is there.

Rousseau was more realistic than Daubigny, as is shown by his intense appreciation of the beauty of detail in nature, but he succeeded admirably in keeping his wealth of detail in due subordination to the large masses. Across the room the relative values of land and sky are clearly discriminated in his pictures, but on coming nearer one can, as in looking at nature, let one's eye wander over the canvas and find in every pin point of space some bit

of detail painted with thought and deliberate intention. The Valley of Tiffauges is a wonderful picture, but "Le Givre" is surely Rousseau's masterpiece. It shows us a desolate moorland, whose broken ground is covered with the chilling whiteness of frost. Above it the sky hangs lowering in heavy folds of gray cloud. The picture is without hope, promise, or hint of relief except for one rift in the clouds when the ruddy light of sunset breaks through. It is curious how much more dreary frost is than snow. Snow, falling ready-made through the air, may block up the warm life beneath it for a time, but that life with quick reaction asserts itself with plough and snow-shovel, and soon has the oppressor under its feet, condemned to smooth the path for its conqueror's sleigh chariot with the joyous exultant bells. It is like those misfortunes for which a man is in no way responsible. They but stimulate him to greater self-assertion and higher mastery of conditions. But frost, gathering and forming on the surfaces of all things, seems to argue an inward chill, and is like those doubts which take away courage, those misfortunes which apathy does much to court.

The works of Diaz can be divided into two classes: wood interiors, and groups of figures with landscape backgrounds. At times he seems completely absorbed in the beauty of the forest, finding in the great beechen trunks flecked with sunlight, the interlacing boughs with bits of sky showing through, and the mysterious darkness of leafy coverts all he needs to stimulate his best powers. Then, as if he had suddenly realized that this was but a background, he sweeps open a place in his forest where the sunlight may fall freely, and fills it with a group of soft armed women in bright draperies, like flowers that have unfolded in a night, startling the greenery with a miracle of brilliant light and color.

Treatment was the god of Decamps, according to Millet, who speaks of him as a restless, dissatisfied being, doubtful of himself, who, under the rough exterior of a cavalry officer, hid a profound weakness, seeking always for means rather than ends. A brilliant, penetrating intellect, but not peaceful soul. True to this diagnosis, we find him loving and painting the light, not as it fills space and inspires in us a sense of vast possibility, but rather light indoors, as it filters through some high opening, falling with the distilled richness of golden wine, and making a place of delight amid the translucent shadows that surround it. His pictures of the "Turkish Butcher's Shop" and the "Suicide" show how a sordid or even very painful subject may be made beautiful by

idealistic treatment. Looking at the latter, we see first only the lovely golden spot of sunshine that falls on the floor and lights the white sleeve of the lifeless arm that droops from the low cot-bed. All the rest is mystery and shadow. The light is so beautiful that we may rest satisfied with that, yet, if we let our eyes explore the darker parts of the picture, we find it filled with detail of poignant reality. The loneliness and poverty of the garret; the abandoned palette on the wall; the rigid stocking-feet protruding beyond the blanket which trails upon the floor, all are given; and where the light loses itself in shadow above the shoulder we may find amid the clustering brown curls the dark spot where the fatal bullet entered. The truth, ghastly and horrible, is all there, yet wholly subordinated to the enchanting beauty of the morning sunshine that brings to the death chamber its message of abiding faithfulness and hope.

Barye was a giant of realism, and for that very reason was a giant of idealism also, and was able to make his animals live before us on paper and in bronze. No one shows us more plainly than Barye how by mastering the secrets of nature and getting at her from within — not by the cool experimenting of the scientist, but by a sympathy that lends itself to that great power of expression that underlies nature — one attains the highest idealism, and may become a creator in a genuine, though, of course, in a limited sense. A creator is one who makes something so coherent, so true to the eternal verities, that men are forced to recognize its reality and give it leave to be. This cannot be done by the study of isolated facts alone, but by seeking to understand that complex relation which facts bear to one another, and which, under limitation, shifts continually in the expression of life. Barye knew what every muscle in an animal meant, and how it stood related to the passions of brute nature; so when he shows us beasts in the intense indulgence of their appetites, holding down some weaker creature and sucking its life out, they are doing it with the whole concentration of their powerful natures, and their low-lying bodies pressed to the ground between raised thighs, and their tails tense with excitement, all minister to and share in the act of devouring. We feel that it is great art. The creature before us is a whole, animated by one purpose, and not a collection of limbs and hair strung together like dried specimens. Barye was the first artist to free himself from the idea that animals derive the only apology for their existence from some humble likeness to mankind, and by so doing he greatly affronted

Parisian taste. All the artists who preceded Barye made their beasts with small feet, because small feet are considered a beauty in men and women. Barye made them as they really are, and also devoted much study to the action of the tail, the most powerful organ of expression in those creatures to whom speech is denied. By studying animals from their own point of view, and finding the mainsprings of their action, Barye could not only make their bodies marvelously expressive in every part, but could, as we see in his water colors, create a world for them to live in — a world of weird forms and strange colors, yet so fitted to the life of the beasts that inhabit it, that it appeals to a deep sense of truth in us, and makes us feel that such must the world have been before the advent of man, when the beasts were monarchs of all. The elephants bathing in the surf, the tiger rolling on its back in playful mood in a warm sunny spot among the strange rocks that surround his lair, the serpent lying along the horizontal branch of a tree, his mottled body drooping in weighty folds on either side of the branch among the green leafage whose dappled sunlight recalls the spots on the serpent's skin, — all these haunt the memory.

Barye's bronzes are too well known to need comment. His single beasts are wonderful achievements, and the problems he proposes to himself grow in difficulty as by grouping several creatures together he introduces contending forces into the work. Mr. DeKay, whose life of Barye was recently published, speaks of him as a very silent, unsociable man, and tries to find reason and excuses for this. But surely no more reason is needed, particularly when one sees the deep-set eyes and firmly compressed mouth of his portraits, than the intense concentration required to follow out in imagination the appropriate action of every muscle and sinew in each of two beasts engaged in a mortal struggle, every organ and limb fighting for the advantage in its special way. The undertaking is stupendous in its difficulty, and would wholly baffle an ordinary intellect.

Millet is probably the greatest man of the School of 1830. His ideal realism, his union of loftiness and simplicity, carry us very high. His works breathe the same spirit as those of Daubigny, but give to it more perfect expression because the life of man is higher than the life of nature alone.

Millet's mind was of a large mould, adapted to seeing life in its great simple proportions. He took peasants for the subjects of his brush, not because they were plain and homely, but because he

found in them a simpler expression of the fundamental truths of life than belongs to those classes who are trained to conceal the emotions of their hurried complex existence, and whose very draperies sit on them lightly with airy caprice, instead of being moulded like the substantial fabrics of peasants' wear, through long years of service, into an expressiveness little less than that of the vigorous forms they cover.

The truth and beauty of these simple natural relations of life, which, however we may refine and elaborate them, we cannot really improve upon, is Millet's gospel. Yet another truth is set forth by him which rebukes the tendency of some modern artists hurriedly to dash down their impressions in a jargon of paint that can be understood only by a select few, refusing to chasten and elaborate these impressions to meet the average comprehension. Millet shows us that when the essential relations are once established, when the values are brought into such accord that the meaning of any subject is made clear — then every bit of painstaking detail that can be added to the work without disturbing the large relations adds just so much force and persuasiveness to the expression of its meaning. This is the true justification, and at the same time the limitation, of all elaboration and detail. Detail helps when kept in place by the larger relations. When sought as an end and in defiance of these larger relations, it is deadly. All who saw the "Angelus," after having been familiar with it through etchings, must have been struck by the way in which Millet by his careful painting of the frosty weeds in the furrows, the fields stretching off towards the distant village, the gathering dusk, the rosy light enwrapping the unconscious, reverent figures, made every natural fact minister to and glorify the expression of that large relation between the human and the divine which the peasants in the picture are recognizing with such unquestioning faith. There is nothing gayly ornamental in all this, nothing strained, nothing arbitrary, nothing theatrical. The picture is adorned simply by the beauty of what Millet called "the suitable," every detail being an integrant part of the whole and, therefore, completing its expression.

Millet cared little for frills and laces because he felt in them no necessary connection with human life, but such garments as really belonged to his peasants he painted with both care and sentiment. We have it on the authority of William Hunt, who was a pupil of Millet's when the latter was painting his smaller picture of the "Sheep Shearers," that Millet spent days in model-

ing the delicate curves of the close-fitting creamy woolen cap worn by the woman who is parting the fleece, saying that he wished to make it as "beautiful as the petal of a tea rose."

As we have hinted, the philosophy half unconsciously embodied in the School of 1830 is capable of a very wide application, and offers many useful suggestions in the realm of ethics. This is not the place to push these suggestions, but we may at least indicate a few of them. All analogy between art and ethics depends upon our considering man's moral and spiritual life as a succession of acts of expression or creation, and the advantage of following out the analogy lies in the fact that the realm of art is open to more practical and immediate demonstration than the realm of ethics. The conception of man's moral and spiritual life as a creation is familiar. Kant taught that although we could not prove the ideal either from experience or by a consensus of innate ideas, yet we could build it for ourselves by our faith and courage, thus creating the truth that we believe in. Assuming, then, that man's higher life is to be created by him in obedience to certain laws and conditions, what hints do we find in art as to the nature of these laws and conditions?

The most important deductions from our study of the works of the School of 1830 are as follows:—

That the law of relations or values is really the law of the whole, and that only by virtue of a complete surrender to it can we create worthy and coherent wholes on any plane.

That this law of the whole is manifested in nature and embodied in every true artist, some special phase of it constituting his personality and enabling him to give coherent form to any pictorial elements to which he turns his attention.

That the realist errs by seeking suggestions of such form only in the external world, while the idealist errs by seeking them only within, the truth being that the law of the whole is equally manifested both on the material and the spiritual planes, and that a hearty allegiance to it as a universal authority is the only basis for such reconciliation of the rival theories as shall issue in worthy and satisfactory achievement. To effect this reconciliation the realist must open his eyes to the values on a higher plane than that of natural fact, while the idealist must confess that his ideal wholes are quite unattainable and inexpressible by him except as he is willing to recognize them as already embodied with more or less perfection in the world about him.

It is not difficult to transfer this reasoning from art to life, and show that the materialist, who values himself on the sanity and mental coherence with which he demonstrates the validity of things about him as having life in themselves, is really most insane and incoherent, because, by the very laws of his demonstration, all things are what they are only by virtue of their relation to some larger whole; while the idealist, who longs to be free from the trammels of this conditioned life of the flesh in order that he may work out his ideals more completely, is really trying to evade the very terms of the problem which he is eternally committed to solve. In other words, he is making a fancy sketch because he is unable to paint a portrait.

So much for the general truth; now for its practical application.

As has been said, we may assume that every human being is in some degree an artist, because all men are more or less capable of creating good life, if not good pictures and music. In other words, every man carries in himself, under the name of conscience, an ideal whole of greater or less magnitude, which gives him pain whenever it is violated, just as the artist is pained by a wrong stroke in the picture he is making. If any man acts according to this ideal whole, which constitutes his personality, and is the only thing that he can really call his own, he acts freely and nobly as far as he alone is concerned, because he acts in obedience to that law of the whole of which even the smallest fraction has a divine authority; and yet, if he acts solely in obedience to this, and without considering how all people and things in the world are bound up together, his action will have a deep incoherence and irrationality because, sooner or later, the larger relations which he has ignored are bound to assert themselves. Now, how shall a man be true to himself, that is, how shall he act freely from his own wholeness or integrity, and yet so act that his life shall have that large coherence and adjustment to universal relations which shall give to it an external validity?

This problem is precisely analogous to the problem of the artist. How shall the artist paint the scene which specially attracts him in nature so convincingly that others shall recognize its worth and take pains to preserve it? We have seen that in patient search for the values and obedient yielding of himself to the law of the whole as expressed through them lies his only hope. If he works in a headstrong fashion, unwilling to yield himself to this inexorable discipline, he never makes a successful picture at all. In representing his subject, he finds that many

things are different from what he at first supposed them to be, that they are modified by their mutual relation in a way that at first wholly escaped his perception. By repeated failures he at last learns not to trust his original notions at all, except in so far as still to believe that his subject is worth painting, for of course, if he were to yield this latter point, he would cease to be an artist. He must maintain stoutly the worth of his idea, but *in the expression of it* must be willing to learn everything, to be laid low and schooled at every step by the values or law of the whole, giving up at its bidding much cherished detail, and modifying many a fine tone lest these should encroach upon and so mar the effect of the truth he desires to set forth. To him it is not painful sacrifice, but rather joy to do this, because he conceives his desired wholes so vigorously that he rejoices in anything, either in the way of effort or of surrender, which shall help to make these wholes more clearly apparent.

Transferring this experience to the realm of ethics, however, we find the wholes of conduct less clear to human vision than are artistic wholes to the vision of the artist. A man looking out upon life is less sure of what he wants of it than is the artist in looking at nature. He is not at first ethically constructive, as the artist is pictorially constructive. It takes a stout heart and a brave philosophy to make a man resolve to create the good that he postulates when there is such temptation to evil in the world about him. He is working in a more or less untried and very confusing realm. But if he can by any means be persuaded to view himself as one whose only inalienable capital is his innate perception of wholes, whose only hope of continued worth lies in the embodiment of these wholes in every shape possible to matter or spirit, will he not then joyously invoke the values — the law of the whole meeting him continually in the discipline of every-day life, — as his best helper in such embodiment? And will not every sacrifice demanded by the necessary modification of his first rough conception of life be joyously welcomed by him as in the line of construction and upbuilding, instead of dreaded and avoided as destructive because of its possible pain?

Kant is right in telling us that we must create the truth that we believe in. We must be stout-hearted, we must trust to the integrity of the subject, to the worth of our individual point of view. This is at least half the battle. When we have gained this much we are out of the mire and have solid ground beneath our feet. But yet we are lonely, we lack assurance and confirma-

tion of our resolve to do our best. The Eternal is to us a vast overarching presence, too vast to concern itself with our small affairs, and so we wage our moral strife in a sad sincerity, burdened by heavy responsibility and uncheered by recognition from above. Let the artist teach us to balance the integrity of the subject with the doctrine of the values, — seeing in both the law of the largest conceivable whole, which is God. Then comes to us the true joy of living. Our life is worth while, it has integrity, and the point of view of each human being is justified, but it is justified only by its allegiance to God, who, because He includes all things, stands in a vital relation to every part of every human life, down to its minutest detail, so that we are at no point left fatherless, but can find, if we will, in every painful limitation, and in every thwarting of our short-sighted plans, the guidance of an infinite Love working as a vast constructive force to shape us, as parts of itself, to higher forms than we have yet imagined.

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WHAT IS REALITY?

PART X. CREATIVE INTELLIGENCE.

WHAT is it to create? May we not say simply, To create is to originate? Surely, this touches the distinctive idea of creation, but it is not of itself sufficient. We must add another element and say, *Creation is designed origination*. But what is it to originate? Do we mean absolute origination, creation out of nothing? or is the term properly applied to that relative kind of origination that consists in forming, from elements already in existence, new combinations? I think we ought, in practical discussions, to use the word only in this latter sense; because this is the only kind of creation that our experience tells us anything about.

Men never could have had a thought of God as the creator of the world, were it not that they had first known themselves as creators. In the earlier part of our argument we labored to prove that this knowledge of ourselves as causative agents is no delusion, but the truth of truths, the reality underlying all realities. We are therefore constrained to treat it with the greatest respect; to examine it carefully, to find all that it contains, and at the same time to keep conscientiously within its limits.

In doing this, one of the very first discoveries we make is, that the idea of *creation out of nothing* finds no indorsement. As we know the world, there is an order of nature, there are uniformities of action, continuity of motion. When we create we do not act independently of these, but, so to speak, by their permission. We guide them into channels which they, without us, would not have taken; and so, through their constancy, accomplish our special ends.

When, therefore, we try to rise from our own experiences to the thought of a Supreme Creator, we abandon our base of reality unless we retain the *order of nature* as an inseparable part of our conception. Our analogy obliges us to postulate a Being who is not only coexistent with that order, but who also works by means of it, controlling, modifying, and harmonizing its elements, according to a plan known in its fullness only to himself. It would be preposterous for us to say that the order of nature is *not* of God's creating; it would be equally preposterous for us to affirm that it is. We know ourselves to be a part of that order. We know, at the same time, that we are efficient, originating parts of it. Within a limited sphere, we control, alter, reconstruct, the elements with which we come into immediate contact. Expanding this thought to the Supreme Being, we think of Him, not, indeed, as *a part* of the order of nature, but as the living head and centre of that order. It is a part of Him, as our bodies are a part of us. His thought and his initiative are constantly working in and through it. We can no more think of its beginning than we can think of his beginning. He and it are, for us, two aspects of that which eternally *is*.

A second discovery revealed by a careful examination of our analogy is, that in philosophical discussions we have habitually neglected to make use of some of its most significant phenomena. When we reflect upon man as a creator we naturally send our thoughts abroad to gather, as into one picture, the various external evidences of his inventive skill. We think of the cities he has built, of the objects of art with which he has stored them, of the mechanism he has constructed, the books that he has written. But all the time we are thus engaged we are looking over and neglecting a realm where the creative power of man is most really at work. We are, in fact, occupying ourselves with the secondary, comparatively remote results of his constructive power, oblivious of the fact that all his primary, immediate creations are to be sought and found elsewhere.

No mechanism has ever been put together, no work of art constructed, that was not the outcome of an antecedently created organization of nerve substance in the brain of some man. It is not strange that we have overlooked this department of man's activity, for we have no immediate knowledge of the transformations and combinations that are continually taking place in the nerve-cell world. The very existence of the minute organisms that compose it have only recently been made known to us by science. But now that we are no longer ignorant of them, it behooves us to make the most of the assistance they are capable of bringing to speculative thought.

Some of the greatest difficulties that have hitherto attended our efforts to make use of man's creative experience for the solution of the world problem are directly traceable to our preoccupation with the external evidences of his skill. Every human construction, viewed externally, is the work, more or less immediately, of men's hands. But nature seems to disclose to us a Being who creates without hands. To imagine a world-creator, therefore, we have had to depart from our analogy, to assume something that was quite foreign to all our experience. Or, more correctly speaking, our conception, excluded from the realm of real experiences, has fastened itself upon an imaginary one; and the Creator of the world has appeared to us in the guise of an all-powerful magician.

But the moment we turn our attention to what goes on within us, the magic of the magician is nothing to the reality of our every-day experience. Creation without hands is seen to be the rule, not the exception. The brain of every man is a cosmos, a world of plastic elements that are to a very considerable degree the instruments of his intelligence and will. In this world he thinks, and, obedient to his thought, nerve-cells are modified, and cell combinations are formed, that would otherwise have no existence. Notwithstanding the smallness of these elements, the world in which they energize is just as real as the world of forms by which we are surrounded. The cerebral forms have, it is true, no resemblance to our thoughts or to their counterparts in the external world; but we can have no hesitation in affirming that they are equally complex, equally elaborate in the adjustment of their parts to each other, and that they have the same unity.

We do not know *how* man creates. He makes constructive efforts with certain definite ends in view, and elaborate nerve combinations are the result. If what he desires to attain comes

to him suddenly and with a high degree of completeness, his consciousness of creation is very much less than when he has reached it after many efforts, some of which have been failures. In the former case he is inclined to attribute the combination that has so suddenly made its appearance to an agency other than his own. It is said to be an inspiration. But in the latter he is very conscious of labor, of much ineffectual striving, of fatigue, of progress, of final success as the reward of many efforts.

What he experiences at such times finds its analogy in the processes that make for the external realization of his thought. A sculptor, for instance, sets out to model a statue. The first attempt may be so wide of the mark that he reduces it to the shapeless lump of clay out of which it was formed. But when he has made a beginning that is more or less to his mind, he goes on altering and modifying, reconstructing parts, but retaining the model as a whole. Thus he reaches a stage of perfection that, if not satisfying, is all that appears to be attainable. So with the inventor of machinery. If it is at all elaborate, the perfected result is the one combination that succeeds many other less perfect combinations that have been tried and found wanting. In each of these cases the series of forms that has found its way into the external world is the expression of only a few that have been chosen from innumerable combinations called into existence by the creative but also selective and destructive ego.

It is not otherwise with what we call the acquirement of faculties. From a mechanical point of view, an acquired faculty is an exceedingly complex piece of mechanism that has been constructed by the intelligently directed efforts of the *ego* to whom it belongs. Every skilled performer on the piano has constructed for himself such a mechanism not only by a long succession of efforts, but also by the suppression of innumerable faults to which some of these efforts have given rise.

Further illustration of this point can hardly be necessary. The facts we have reviewed are palpable, unquestionable facts of everyday experience; and the bearing of them upon the larger problem of creation seems to me to be almost equally clear and unavoidable. If this world is an organic unity, if all its parts are related to each other, why should we hesitate to follow out the analogy which is pressed upon us from every side by the evidences of adaptation? Why should we not think of the whole protoplasmic world as a specialized part of the greater organism upon which the Creator impresses his thought, as a man does his upon the congeries of nerve-cells that he calls his brain?

At any rate, we must assume that the reader has followed us thus far, for we wish to take him much farther, — to persuade him that man is not simply an originator of new combinations of nerve-cells, but that he is a creator of living species that faithfully reproduce their kind from generation to generation. We have already seen that the mechanical symbolism that is commonly resorted to for a conception of these combinations is not only imperfect but essentially misleading, and that it is only from biology that we can learn their true nature. Nerve-cells, this science tells us, are living beings, individual existences, which admit of classification, according to their functions, into species; and each one of these species reproduces its kind, like other unicellular organisms. It is owing to this continuity, this permanency of type in each species of nerve-cells, that our faculties are preserved to us without alteration, notwithstanding the destruction of the originally modified cells.

Now the greater part of these cells come to us with their characteristics already fixed. The various species which constitute what we call vital organs, a full quota of which every normal human being inherits, have been formed somehow during the evolution of the race, and they remain the same throughout life. But in every one there is a class of brain-cells that is susceptible of further differentiation and organization; and it is by means of these that the human creative faculty is enabled to accomplish its ends. The *ego*, so to speak, impregnates these cells with specific characteristics which are often faithfully transmitted from generation to generation during the life of the individual. We know this to be the case, because acquired or superinduced characteristics continue to appear in the activities of the person with whom they originate.

We are not oblivious of the fact that a large class of cell modifications are made without the intention of the *ego*. Some of the phenomena of memory point to changes thus registered in the cerebral ganglia. And the wonderful persistence of these illustrates, in the most marked way, the fact of inherited cell specializations. The experiences of childhood often reappear most vividly in advanced old age. What we wish to show is, that *intentionally* produced specializations follow the same law. The skill of a musical performer, of one who has learned to write, or of one who has acquired a foreign language, remains, although the brain-cells originally educated may long ago have perished.

We have, then, within the realm of human activities, a true

instance of the creation, by intelligence, of specialized organisms, — organisms that, subject to further modifications from the *ego*, reproduce their kind like the different species of animals; and, turning back with this thought to our analogy, we are more than ever impelled to the belief that the world of exceedingly diversified but closely related living forms, plants, insects, birds, fishes, beasts, and men, each producing after their kind, are the more or less direct results of the divine creative thought working upon the protoplasm of our planet.

Does this seem to the reader a fanciful and unnecessary conception? As fanciful, I have no apology to offer for it. All new adjustments of our thought are fanciful until we get used to them. But as unnecessary it certainly calls for defense. I do not mean that we are to argue over again the question as to the necessity of recognizing the presence of a creative intelligence in nature. We must consider that point as settled. But even when it is granted that intelligence has been a factor in creation, it may be urged that there is no necessity of postulating a Supreme Being. The creative faculty of man does, it may be said, afford us a clue to the mysteries of origination. But this clue ought to be followed, not into a higher, unknown realm, but into that realm of known reality that is open to our observation. Pursuing this course, we may discover that the adaptations, of which nature is full, are the outcome, not of a single creative mind, but the cumulative product of innumerable little minds. At least, before we invoke the agency of a higher being, let us satisfy ourselves that the results we contemplate could not have been brought about by adjustments intelligently formed, through countless generations, by the very beings whose transformations we study. There is much to be said for this view, and we must give it our careful attention.

That we may approach it understandingly, let us premise that the intelligently formed organizations of brain substance that we have been considering may be legitimately regarded as *organs* of the human body. Like the other organs of the body, they are made up of specialized elements that have been brought into particular relations to each other for the discharge of very definite functions. The nature of the functions discharged by these organs leaves no room for doubt as to their elaborateness and permanence. By their acquisition individuals are, in some respects, separated from each other as widely as different animals are separated by the peculiarities of species. We speak within bounds when we say that the performances of a great instrumentalist are as impossible

to one not cultivated in music as flying is impossible to an ox ; and if the nervous organization on which the musician's power depends could be seen by us in its separateness, as we see the wings of a bird, we should probably have no hesitation in saying that he had acquired an *organ* not possessed by the generality of men.

This conclusion is emphasized when we reflect further upon the wonderful independence displayed by these newly formed combinations of nerve substance. For instance, when a man who has been absorbed for a long time in turning over and over certain thoughts, that have not the remotest connection with any kind of external activity, suddenly, and almost without consciousness, seizes a pen, and with great rapidity and variety of motion transfers those thoughts to paper, there can be no question as to the existence within him of an organ of great complexity and independence. There is here an instrumentality, — we may call it an organism or a mechanism, — that, when the vital forces are turned on, works with an ease and regularity almost equal to that of the printing-press that subsequently covers other sheets of paper with similar characters expressing the same thoughts.

If, then, we have found a class of organs, the origin of which is well known to us, the scientific method requires us to ask at once, Does the knowledge of this one class indicate the secret of the origin of all classes ? The intelligence of the individual is the creative cause of these organs : can it be that the great process of organ-forming, that has been going on from the advent of life on our planet, has at every step been due to the same agency ? The only possible way of establishing such an hypothesis is to show that the organs intelligently formed by one generation are inherited by subsequent generations.

It is at this point that the attempt to trace the origin of organs to the intelligence of the creature meets its first great difficulty. But we shall not find it insuperable. The most cursory investigation, it is true, tells us that most if not all of the organs formed by man's intelligence are *nontransmissible*. The child of a man who has spent a part of every day of his life in writing inherits apparently no trace of the organization which was like a second nature to the parent. If he learns to write, he must begin where his father began, and build up from the simplest elements an organization for himself. The single letters have to be constructed at first with great care and no little effort ; then they are joined together ; word-forming, spelling, sentence-construction and

so on follow each other, till at last he has acquired that which nature refuses to bestow as a free gift. If the child had been descended from illiterate parents, he would have been able to acquire the art, and perhaps with equal facility.

The apparent universality of this law of limitation has led some eminent writers, as for instance Weismann and Ribot, to the conclusion that the process of evolution, subsequent to the unicellular stage, has not been effected by the acquired characteristics of individuals. But there is something to be said on the other side. Though it should be admitted that no human being has ever bequeathed an intelligently formed organization to his posterity, it does not necessarily follow that the same rule holds good for animals lower in the scale. Evolution gains its ends by a variety of processes; and under changed conditions it not infrequently abandons one method for another, though the end attained be the same in both cases. Thus reproduction by division is succeeded by amphigonic reproduction; water-breathing by means of gills gives place to air-breathing by means of lungs.

Now let us remind ourselves that the acquirements of the human individual do become the acquirements of the race. They are inherited by succeeding generations, though the transmission is effected by a different process from that which is technically called *heredity*. Let us observe, moreover, that a very striking resemblance exists between the stages of these so very different processes. For the sake of comparison, we will outline these stages in parallel columns:—

Physical or Enforced Heredity.

Intelligent or Optional Heredity.

I.

I.

The appearance of an organic change as the peculiarity of an individual.

The appearance of the crude beginnings of an art as the creation of an individual.

II.

II.

The spread of this organic peculiarity by enforced heredity till there appears a species characterized by it.

The spread of this primitive art by intelligent communication till it becomes the property of the race.

III.

III.

This newly acquired organization is again modified by other individual changes which in their turn become the property of the species.

The art, thus made common property, receives further individual developments, which again become the property of the race.

IV.

IV.

Each individual of a species becomes possessed of this accumulation of ancestral organs by an abbreviated recapitulation of the stages through which the species has passed.

Each individual who becomes the possessor of this art acquires it by an abbreviated recapitulation of the stages that characterized its development in the race.

Now, since the lower animals have not yet reached the stage at which the inheritance of newly acquired organs by intelligent communication can be relied upon, may it not be that among them the transmission of intelligently formed characteristics is effected by enforced heredity? Many facts are adduced by careful observers of domesticated animals that seem to point to this conclusion. For instance, it is said that young shepherd dogs, the very first time they are taken to pasture, will sometimes herd sheep with as much skill and discrimination as if they had been long and carefully trained to the business.¹

Have we not here a case of intelligent acquisition made subject to the law of enforced heredity? There can be no question but that the art of herding sheep was, in the first instance, intelligently acquired by an ancestor of the young dog that now practices it instinctively; and we are justified in assuming that this art or habit, wherever it appears, is the outward manifestation of an internal structure or organ that has been built up by successive combinations of nerve elements. When, therefore, we have in the young dog all the external manifestations of this elaborate organ, we conclude that the organ has, so to speak, formed itself in virtue of the naturally inherited growth tendencies of the individual. It is as if the roots of this faculty remained in the race. The acquired arts of men are like the annuals that grow and flower luxuriantly in our gardens for one season, but perish, root and branch, when winter comes. But the art of sheep-herding has, to some extent, become perennial in the collie race. It springs up in each successive generation without any seed-sowing or planting. When the proper season, or stage in the ontogenetic series, has been reached, it is then bearing, when subjected to appropriate stimuli, its natural fruit.

Does it not seem as if we had here the key to what has ever been one of the most interesting and baffling of all the mysteries of nature? That which we call instinct has always appeared to

¹ For other instances of inherited acquisitions, see Romane's *Mental Evolution in Animals*, pp. 193-199, and Eimer's *Organic Evolution*, sec. vi.

us as the product of a well known process, minus the process. It is the fruit of the tree of intelligent experience without the tree. Now, then, let us make the hypothesis that all instincts have originated in the same manner, — that they are all the outward expression of special organizations that have been inherited from ancestors who formed them intelligently.

Up to this point we have been treading a tolerably firm path; but from this on, the footing is softer and softer, while the load we carry is augmented at every step. As we descend the zoological scale, the evidences of a general intelligence diminish rapidly, while we continually encounter instincts, the nature of which seems to preclude the *possibility* of intelligent origination. For instance, how is it possible that insects, that never have anything to do with their progeny after the egg stage, should have acquired by experience the wisdom that seems to guide them in depositing their eggs? Many of the provisions they make for their young imply, not simply a long look ahead, but a truly scientific skill in the choice of means for the supply of wants that have as yet no existence.

The sphex forms a burrow in which to deposit its eggs. This, when all is ready, is to be closed carefully to make it safe for the larva that is to be hatched in it. But, before the closing, a very important matter has to be attended to. Just as a vessel bound on a long voyage is stored with provisions, so the burrow in which the young of the sphex is to begin life is stored with food. But more remarkable yet is the means by which this is accomplished. The food laid aside for the larva must be animal food, and it must be alive. It must be alive but not active, for it must remain several weeks in the burrow before the hatched-out larva is ready for it. Now there are several species of this insect, and each species remains faithful to a particular species of prey. One provides spiders for its offspring, another beetles, another crickets, and another caterpillars. And the marvelous thing is that each species knows just where to sting its prey so as to paralyze without killing it. If it is a spider, the sting is delivered unerringly upon the large ganglion which is the nerve-centre of the spider. If it is a beetle, the sting finds the main aggregation of nerves by passing through the membranes between the first and second pair of legs. If it is a cricket, the end is attained by piercing three nerve-centres; and if it is a caterpillar, a series of from six to nine stings is given, one between each of the segments of the body.

Another class of instincts that is particularly trying to our hypothesis is that which characterizes the neuters among bees and ants. These are the individuals of the colony that as workers astonish us by the elaborateness of their apparently intelligent operations. But the males and developed females, from whom the neuters spring, never exhibit the instincts that appear in their progeny.

It is needless to multiply examples of this kind, nor will I weary the reader by commenting upon those given. To some zoölogists they appear to be insurmountable. Romanes, following Darwin, believes that "many instincts are displayed by animals too low in the zoölogical scale to admit of our supposing that they can ever have been due to intelligence."¹ He also regards the case of neuter insects as an insuperable obstacle to our hypothesis. He therefore divides instincts into two classes having quite different origins. Those that may be traced to the intelligence of ancestors form a numerous and very important class by themselves. But no less important is the other class, that owes its origin to natural selection working upon purposeless activities that chance to be useful to the organism.

Mr. Lewes, on the other hand, recognizes no impossibilities. With a supreme faith in the law of continuity, he commits himself to the belief that all instincts have had an intelligent origin; or, to put it in his own words, that "instinct is organized experience." His statement of the argument is as follows: "Since we know that many instincts, which are manifested as soon as the organisms have acquired the requisite development and are appropriately stimulated, were originally acquired in ancestral experiences . . . and since we know that instincts, like many diseases, are due to registered modification of structure transmitted by heredity, and since those registrations are themselves acquired results, the conclusion that all instincts are acquired becomes irresistible."²

Theodor Eimer apparently reasons in the same way, for in speaking of bees he says: "If we suppose that their collection of honey has become mechanical, that the bees no longer reason consciously in performing this labor, yet we must assume that originally they began to collect honey from reflection and reasoning; for otherwise they would not have come to do it mechanically."³

The fact that the instincts of the workers are not exhibited by

¹ *Mental Evolution in Animals*, p. 191.

³ *Organic Evolution*, p. 425.

² *The Limitations of Knowledge*, sec. 21 a.

their immediate progenitors is, for him, no bar to this belief. He calls attention to a well-recognized tendency in some of the lower animals to a specialization of organs that sometimes results in separation. Locomotive organs, sexual organs, digestive organs, in some cases remain connected with the body by a peduncle, while in others they become entirely detached and swim about independently. A trace of this tendency remains, even in the higher animals, that are descended from species in which there was no separation of sex. For, to use his own words, "wherever a male and female sex exists, there is no perfect individual. The two parts absolutely belong to one another, and only form a whole together."¹ In accordance with this principle, he believes the different orders represented in the hive to have been derived from a primitive form that combined within itself all the functions of bee life. From this primitive form the specialized forms have sprung; and each of these develops a particular part of the organization as its inheritance. The reproductive members never develop the instincts of workers, but they go on transmitting them, as it were in sealed packages, from primitive ancestors, by whom they were intelligently formed.

So much for this controversy. I have laid both views before the reader, because there seems to me to be reason in both. On the one hand, I agree with Romanes, that the intelligence of the creature becomes a less and less satisfactory explanation of the phenomena as we descend the zoological scale, and that it finally gives out altogether. In so far as it is satisfactory it enlarges our conception of the sphere in which the organizing intelligence of the creature is effective. But even if we should agree with Lewes and Eimer that all instincts, ordinarily regarded as such, are the result of ancestral experiences, we should still be far from accounting for the origin of all organs.

I say *ordinarily regarded as such*, because the history of a very important class of organs which we have not yet tried to account for seems to me to point clearly to another series of instincts. These, because they manifest themselves in the embryo, we may call embryotic. All the organs which succeed each other in the growth of the fœtus are the result of certain very marked differentiations that occur at specific epochs in its history; and each of these new departures seems to me to be caused by nothing other than that which in the more mature individual we call instinct. We may certainly affirm that the beginning of each new differen-

¹ *Organic Evolution*, p. 426.

tiation is a function of the embryo, or of some part of it, at a particular stage of its existence. This new function appears precisely as new instincts appear in *post-embryotic* life. It is, on the part of the embryo, an impulse, in response to a particular conjunction of internal and external states, to do something that it has never done before. There is also in each of these unprecedented acts the same appearance of intelligence that we have observed to be the distinguishing characteristic of instinct; for each one leads to a new organization that is wonderfully adapted to the future well-being of the individual.

When we are contemplating only the regular round of changes that has been repeated for untold generations, we can dismiss the question as to their cause simply by referring them to *heredity*. The offspring develops each organ because its ancestors developed it. But we must remember there was a first time for each one; and it is for this that we have to account.

Let us, for a moment, go back to the fact from which our analogy takes its start. When the habit of sheep-herding appeared fully formed in the young collie, we assumed the existence of a peculiar nerve combination to account for the peculiar trait. This nerve combination we were able to explain only by the assumption that a tendency to vary in an unusual manner had somehow been wrought into the ordinary round of structural changes. When the usual repetitions of heredity had reached a certain stage of cerebral organization in the collie, there ensued a combination that was quite foreign to former natural growth.

Our knowledge of collie history enabled us to trace this tendency to vary in a particular manner to the intelligent experiences of ancestors. But how, we must now inquire, does this help us to account for the successive adaptive variations that have resulted in the formation of the vital organs of the collie? We cannot ascribe them to the intelligence of the creature unless we are prepared to attribute to creatures very low in the scale a far higher degree of foresight and of inventive skill than has ever been attained by man. What shall we do? Two courses are open to us. We may follow Romanes in the assumption that when we have come to the end of creature intelligence, we have come to the end of all intelligence. Or, holding fast by our analogy, we may seek in a higher sphere of being for the intelligence that we cannot find in the creature; an intelligence that works through the creature in virtue of organic relations that it sustains to it.

If we follow the former course, we deliberately part company with the law of continuity. After having found a true cause of a very peculiar class of phenomena, we, on encountering certain difficulties, abandon it absolutely, and assign phenomena of the same nature to causes that are totally different. The case is even worse than this. For we give up our ascertained cause just when we are most in need of it, that is, when the phenomena of nature seem most urgently to demand intelligence for their explanation. We have to assume that a particular class of results, which in our experience flow from intelligence and intelligence only, are to be found in their highest perfection in a department of the creation from which intelligence is absent. But if we take the other alternative, extending the principle of Lewes and Eimer to the conclusion that, wherever the *fruits* of intelligence are clearly manifested, we must in all cases trace them to *intelligence*, we shall remain faithful to the law of continuity, and at the same time have a true and sufficient cause for the phenomena under discussion.

No violence is done to the law of continuity by seeking in a higher sphere of being the intelligence that has disappeared from the lower. On the contrary, we are in complete harmony with that law. We are finding in nature just that which this law constrains us to expect.

We have seen that the human organism is a hierarchy of beings dominated by the *ego*. We have seen that each grade of beings within this organic whole leads its own life, not altogether a routine life. We have seen good reason to attribute intelligence to these various orders of beings according to their place in the scale of organization. There is an intelligence of the cell, there is a higher intelligence of the ganglion, there is above these the intelligence of the *ego*. Certain functions of the organism are referable to the first, certain others to the second, and certain others still to the last. When the *ego* exerts its creative power, it does not work independently of the subordinate beings, but *through* them, producing modifications by virtue of its organic union with them. Ought we not, then, to expect to find the evidences of such a hierarchy of intelligences in the natural world? If the cosmos is a unity, and an organic unity, analogy justifies us in the hypothesis that it is constructed on the same general principles as the organisms with which we are acquainted.

But we have no sooner made this hypothesis than we see that it is open to a most serious objection, namely, that it involves the

reversal of the history of evolution. In the course of evolution the higher organisms are uniformly the product of the lower, not the lower of the higher.

We have encountered the substance of this objection at a previous stage of our argument; and we will say here, as there, that it rests upon an impracticably narrow view of the problem. It has force only when we confine our attention to the one cycle of evolution that is made known to us in organic life. We have seen that cosmic evolution presents itself to us simply as a succession of connected cycles, to which there is no conceivable beginning or ending. But now let us observe that the phenomena of organic life present us with an additional thought. Instead of a mere succession of cycles, we have a gradation, — cycle within cycle. This comes to our relief when we try to form a conception of the universe as an organic whole.

It is clearly out of the question, when using the microcosm of the ego for the interpretation of the cosmos, to make any use of the history of the *becoming* of the *ego*. As a created being, the fruit of a process, it can give us no help for the solution of the world problem. We must be content to regard it only in its supreme and final aspect. We must see in it only the container, the ruler, the creator. We postulate from the start that there is a real unity to the cosmos; and our quest has been to find some reality that shall stand as a symbol of, and a voucher in experience for, this conception. Such a reality must of necessity be itself the reverse of final, the reverse of absolute. It must be a part, an included member, of the great whole. But its relations to that portion of the great whole which it includes and dominates may be used analogically to give us a knowledge of the final, absolute being that includes all beings and all cycles.

We have already considered some of these relations, and have seen that the *ego*, when once installed in its realm, becomes the author of processes of evolution that bear a most marked resemblance to the great one that we study in nature. We have seen that, in every department, it has from the simplest beginnings elaborated the most complexly organized results by means of successive modifications. We know that to each one of these departments the *ego* has come with an already developed intelligence, and with a consciousness of certain ends to be attained. Why, then, should we not postulate a being that has come to the creation of the whole protoplasmic order in the same way, — a being who is as much greater than that order as man is greater than any of the particular ideas that he develops?

Science is never weary of reminding us that the universe is a homogeneous whole, — that the very same elements underlie all its different manifestations. Is it, then, likely that the supreme reality of the world, *intelligence*, is confined to such an insignificant part of it as the protoplasmic order of our planet? Is it not far more reasonable to think of that order as related to the fullness of the supreme intelligence something as a particular science or art is related to the sum of man's intelligence? We know that there is a very real cosmos outside of what we call the animated world. We know, moreover, that there are myriads of worlds in which the protoplasmic order can have no existence. Why should we not believe that the same mind that has expressed itself, on our planet, in the forms of the animal and vegetable creation has had innumerable other developments antecedent to and contemporary with this one?

But again, our analogy may be attacked from a different quarter. It may be said that it is degrading to our thought of the Creator, since it carries with it the inference that the Almighty employs the same laborious, tentative methods that characterize man's constructive efforts. It certainly does carry this inference; but before we decide that such a conception is degrading to our theism, would it not be best to look the facts of creation squarely in the face, and ask whether or no they indorse the inference? If there is any truth in evolution, the whole history of the world proclaims a Creator who compasses his ends by gradual approaches, in very much the same manner that man compasses his.

There is at every stage the same appearance of *nonfinality*. One form seems to have led up to another form higher in the scale. There is just the same suggestion of improvement, of the abandonment of simple adjustments, for those that by their elaborateness make possible a fuller, more extended life; and each stage in the process makes those antecedent to it look, in some respects, inferior. When, therefore, we turn from contemplating the succession of forms in nature to examine the history of the growth of any human science or art, we cannot but feel that we are looking upon the same thing on a smaller scale. In both cases the stages of progress present the appearance of having been thought out consecutively.

In the preceding number of this series we had occasion to show how the history of man-made mechanism could be set forth as an evolutionary process. We saw that, if human machines are classified in the order of their complexity, this series will corre-

spond in its successive stages very closely to the stages of another series made by arranging machines in the order of time. The simplest were the first to appear, then those that were a little less simple, then those that were somewhat complex, and so on. That is, human creative skill has given rise to a series of graduated forms that seems to be the parallel of the great series that we find in nature. Now if, because of this similarity, we can logically infer that both series are the outcome of intelligence, are we at liberty to ignore the fact that the intelligence that has wrought in the one case appears to have pursued precisely the same methods that it has pursued in the other?

As to the feeling that such a conception of the Creator is less noble than the traditional one, I will only say that it seems to me wiser, as well as more respectful, to frame our thoughts of the Supreme Being upon that which He has revealed of himself in his works, than to frame them upon any flights of fancy, the outcome of our notions of what ought to be. We are not required to postulate a Creator who is limited in all respects as we are. The universe, even as known to us, proclaims a Being whose foresight, wisdom, and power are infinite as compared with ours. But the study of his methods indicates that He is limited in some way. It may be by the nature of the ends for which He creates. It may be by the means which He employs. It may be by both.

Nor does such a conception seem to me to antagonize the view of God that is given in the Hebrew Scriptures. If we derive that view, not from isolated expressions that appear in the exalted phraseology of worship, but from the main drift of the whole, the testimony of nature is seen to be in profound harmony with the utterances of inspired men. From the beginning of the Bible to the end of it, the Almighty is represented as engaged in a great conflict with powers that tend to thwart Him,—powers that He does not annihilate, but that He overcomes through a long-drawn-out historical process.

The reverse of this conception, a purely philosophical one, has been, in more ways than one, a hindrance to belief. One of the great obstacles to the recognition of an overruling, modifying intelligence in nature has been the supposed necessity of referring everything, if anything, to the intelligence and will of the Supreme Being. Mr. Darwin found himself at times powerfully impelled to recognize the agency of an intelligent mind in the adaptations that were apprehended by him with a clearness that has been possible to few men. But he was deterred from yielding

to this evidence because he could not believe that some things were designed and others not.

In the light of our analogy, such an objection disappears altogether. Man, at the centre of a very limited world, designedly shapes much of his life; but the bulk of it is not the result of his thought. The order of nature — the working-out of the lives of all the lesser intelligences in their semi-independence — constitutes the great volume of the stream of being that flows through him and around him. May we not, in like manner, believe that the intelligence that is above ours makes modifications at innumerable points, while leaving most of the details of the great conflict to be determined by those whose lesser intelligence has been given them for that very purpose?

Our analogy does not encourage us to trace all the vicissitudes of creatures, their failures and their successes, their deteriorations and their gradual advances in prosperity, to the direct agency of a superior Being. The working-out of its own salvation by each creature seems to be a part of the plan. But, on the other hand, we are not warranted in excluding this direct agency from any part. We cannot say with any certainty that it is manifesting itself at this point or at that point. Much less can we be sure that it is absent wherever its traces are not apparent to us.

Let us observe, moreover, that this view of a supreme power that is restrained, or that restrains itself, does not in any way conflict with the thought of a Being whose knowledge is unlimited, whose consciousness is coextensive with the universe of which He is the centre. But, at the same time, we are not permitted to treat this last conception as one that is necessarily true. A study of the same phenomena, by which we have been led to the thought of a Being who works *directly* only here and there in the process, has led others to the thought of a Being or beings whose intelligence, though unquestionable, is wholly without consciousness. We shall examine this hypothesis in our next number.

F. H. Johnson.

ANDOVER, MASS.

EDITORIAL.

CANON LUCKOCK, CANON LIDDON, AND DR. DELITZSCH ON THE
PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL TO THE DEAD.

DR. LUCKOCK's new book¹ is an impressive testimony to a certain inevitableness in the tendency of modern orthodox theology to widen its apprehension of the scope and method of Christ's redeeming work. From so intelligent and reverent a student of Patristic theology we should expect a clear recognition of elements of Christian doctrine which have been overlooked in the Puritan tradition. But we were not prepared by our previous knowledge of his type of thought and his ecclesiastical affiliations for so pronounced a judgment as he has now given on the question of a universal Christian probation.

Writing of spiritual ministry after death, he says : —

"It is no mere idle speculation of private judgment, at least if the archetype of humanity, the ideal and pattern Man, may be regarded as a model for us to follow in death as well as in life. S. Peter tells us that with quickened powers Christ went and preached to certain spirits in Hades ; again, he adds that He preached the gospel to dead men in general, for the absence of the definite article in the original involves this conclusion. It points to a continuity after death of the work which had been carried on in life. As in the flesh Christ gave Himself up to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, so in his spirit, when it passed to the land of disembodied souls, He carried on the work which God had given Him to do. And if, as no one doubts, in his life upon earth He has left us an example that we should follow in his steps, it is very difficult to believe that He is not also the type of our life in the spirit in the unseen world. It deepens immeasurably the importance of our earthly training and pursuits to feel that nothing in this life that we do is temporal only, but all has its bearing on the eternity that is to follow.

* * * * *

"Pascal felt the need of work to be so absolutely necessary for perfect happiness, that he did not hesitate to assert that the want of occupation for our moral energies in the future world would turn heaven into hell.

"Now there is one great reason why we should foster the idea of work in the Intermediate State ; it helps to redeem the future life from the character of selfishness which is usually attached to it in the pictures which men draw. Indeed, so general has the aspect of it come to be that it has been said that however diverse the roads which men may take in their investigations into the possibilities of the future state, they come invariably in the end to the same point : 'it is a state of gratified and glorified selfishness.' . . . The more we shall be united with Christ, the more we shall catch of his spirit, and by sharing his unselfish thought and care for others, grow in conformity to the likeness of Him who expressed the character of his divine life in the words : 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.'"

¹ *The Intermediate State between Death and Judgment*, Being a Sequel to *After Death*. By Herbert Mortimer Luckock, D. D., Canon of Ely, sometime Principal of Ely Theological College, and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. New York : Thomas Whitaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1890.

Again, in two chapters, one on "Possibilities of Salvation for the Heathen in the Intermediate State," another on "Possibilities for Others who have had no Probation in this Life," Dr. Luckock presents with characteristic candor and precision the leading arguments *pro* and *contra*, and accepts the conclusion reached by Julius Müller and Dr. Dorner, and foreshadowed by Bishop Butler, all of whom he names, and which he characterizes as "the more hopeful view, which has been growing up since the Reformation," and as "more consonant both with the spirit of the age and with the teachings of Scripture." It is the one which has been repeatedly presented in these pages. For ourselves we should qualify an occasional statement in these chapters, but we would commend them, and the entire work, to our readers, together with the beautiful little treatise of Dr. Cremer, which the late Dr. A. A. Hodge introduced to American readers.¹ We should add that Dr. Luckock, precisely as we have done, argues for but one Christian probation, and in a distinct chapter presents reasons for the opinion that "a second probation" is "inconsistent with Scripture."

We have characterized Dr. Luckock's advocacy of this extension of grace as a remarkable indication of the modern movement of orthodox thought. His book contains evidence to the same effect, which is even more significant. No leading preacher and theologian of our time has been regarded as more firmly and consistently conservative than the late Canon Liddon. Dr. Luckock's book, containing the views we have indicated, is inscribed "In Memoriam Viri Desideratissimi Henrici Parry Liddon;" and in the Preface its author states that he thus dedicates it "with the fullest confidence of his [Canon Liddon's] indorsement." He also gives this interesting information: "In reference to some of the most important chapters in this present book, especially those touching the probation of the heathen and ignorant after death, and the absence of authority for a like probation for those who had been taught in this life, he [Canon Liddon] wrote, 'We are clearly of one mind about the Intermediate State; as I cannot deprecate very natural speculations, so long as they profess themselves speculations resting on whatever basis of Theological probability; and you are opposed to making anything *de fide* which is not clearly revealed as being so.' This is the exact position we have maintained on this subject."

Readers of the late Professor Franz Delitzsch's "System der Biblischen Psychologie," translated in the Messrs. Clarks' "Foreign Theological Library," are aware that his view of the Intermediate State and its possibilities agrees substantially with that of Müller, Martensen, and Dorner.

¹ *Beyond the Grave*. By Dr. Hermann Cremer, Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald. Translated from the German by the Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D. D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, near Trenton, N. J., with an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. Hodge, D. D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1886.

The correspondence recently published between him and his distinguished colleague at Erlangen, Professor J. C. K. von Hofmann,¹ contains a valuable and suggestive discussion of Biblical texts concerning the *descensus*, and incidentally shows how strong a hold on the thought of one of the foremost Biblical scholars of our time the fact had gained that Christ preached the gospel to the dead. We are impressed, also, as in other instances, with certain incidental causes which hinder a wider recognition of this fact. Dr. von Hofmann, with whom Professor Delitzsch contends, was, if we understand him aright, a man, as indeed his opponent in part frankly points out to him, of a sequacious, logical turn of mind, which did not yield itself readily to the thoughts of others even in apprehending them. It was comparatively little alive to the hints and suggestions of Scripture, restricted revelation to what is clearly and definitely affirmed, constructed a dogmatic analogy of faith, balanced arguments and drew conclusions from a preponderance of evidence, interpreted by rule and plummet rather than by a fine literary sense. Dr. Delitzsch was a born exegete, and his studies were distinctively and for a lifetime in the linguistic fields where the Biblical writings mostly originated. His mind lends itself naturally and easily to the movement of the work he is interpreting. Every new turn or suggestion of thought attracts and receives his attention. There grow up in the two classes of minds thus typified — insensibly but surely — two widely different standards of the values of thoughts. We see the same thing in the first great division in the church between the Greek and the Latin Patristics, in the early schools of Alexandria and Antioch, in Luther and Calvin. Our Puritan theology has had a keen sense for the dogmatic values of Biblical teachings, less for its literary values, as Matthew Arnold has done service in emphasizing. It has, also, elevated to a disproportionate importance — indeed, to an exclusive ascendancy — the purely logical method of interpretation; sometimes it becomes, as it were, mathematical. So many texts teach so and so; so many, otherwise; strike the balance and you have an authoritative result. The method of science is teaching a lesson here in its doctrine of unexplained remainders.

In the study of the Scriptures, unconciliated statements and facts should be regarded as suggestions for a qualification or expansion of otherwise established dogmas, and as indications where more truth is to be found. A Scriptural statement, moreover, respecting divine truth is not yet necessarily a dogma; it may be merely an element of dogma, or a pointer to the path which must be followed in order to reach a dogmatic result. When, some years since, a young man said that he thought there were Scriptural reasons for hoping in a future opportunity of salvation for the

¹ *Theologische Briefe der Professoren Delitzsch und v. Hofmann.* Herausgegeben, bevorwortet und mit Registern versehen, von D. Wilhelm Volck, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Universität in Dorpat. Leipzig, 1891. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

heathen, he was charged with holding *de fide*, or doctrinally, that the heathen will have such a probation. The implied reasoning was: what Scripture says is true; a Scriptural truth is a doctrine. The suggestiveness of a passage as a possible relief from a difficulty, or as a probable index where truth is to be found; its literary value as a turn or outreach of thought, or special insight into truth; its scientific value as showing that theories are incomplete, and that other facts are to be considered before a dogmatic conclusion can be reached, — all these various values of Scripture are left undistinguished and unappreciated in the keen zest for an immediate and systematized interpretation of Scripture and Christianity, and in a consequent unwillingness to learn by other methods, and inability to gain fresh inspirations of truth from partial and imperfectly understood disclosures of it.

Fourteen letters passed between Drs. Delitzsch and von Hofmann on the doctrine of the *descensus*, or Christ's descent into Hades — ten discussing the subject directly, four dealing with principles of interpretation. They were written in 1860 and 1861, and were a part of a correspondence proposed to his colleague by Dr. Delitzsch as a more profitable method than oral discussion in respect to scientific themes. Nearly three years ago he communicated the fact of such a correspondence to a theological professor who was visiting him, but it was to remain a secret until after his death. Last June, Dr. Delitzsch having meanwhile died, this correspondence was put into the hands of the friend just referred to, and was found by him already prepared for publication. It gives, therefore, so far as Dr. Delitzsch's letters are concerned, his maturest and final opinions.

We shall only refer to it as respects the topic immediately before us, and in this regard upon but a few points.

Dr. Delitzsch emphasizes the *descensus* as an integral link in the chain of redemptive facts. It is not a mere transition of the soul of Jesus to a more intimate divine communion, but a visit of his quickened and life-giving spirit to the realm of the dead, a conquest of the powers of darkness, and the beginning of his triumph over Satan, sin, and death.¹

* ¹ Dr. Delitzsch treats the *descensus* as purely a part of Christ's triumph over death, and over "him that had the power of death," overlooking, as it seems to us, the truth in the theology of the Reformed churches, that it is a part of Christ's tasting of death, and of his humiliation. Dr. Dorner, on this question, agrees with Dr. Delitzsch, but in opposition to an interpretation of the significance of this humiliation which we should equally with him reject. This opposition leads Dr. Dorner to exclude Eph. iv. 8-10 from having any relevancy to the *descensus*. He further confines the meaning of the Descent into Hades to its application of the redemption achieved on the cross, and so refers it solely to Christ's prophetic office. The reasons he gives are insufficient. They belong to a theory which he himself has broken away from. They imply that the atonement consists of the penal sufferings of Christ, and do not give importance enough to the spirit of obedience in which those sufferings were endured, to the elements of moral influence in his death, and especially to the inclusiveness of death. That death completed itself in his shar-

The letters give an extended discussion of two familiar passages, one in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the other in the first Epistle of Peter. Dr. Delitzsch interprets both of the *descensus*. The expression "into the lower parts of the earth" (Eph. iv. 9), he contends, must refer to Hades. This is required by the antithesis in which it stands, and by its connection with corresponding Old Testament phrases. The Hebrew usage, Dr. Delitzsch affirms, signifies without exception the interior of the earth and the lower world. Dr. Cheyne has recently expressed the same opinion. There is "always," he says, "an at least implied reference to Sheol."¹ He agrees, also, with Dr. Delitzsch in respect to St. Paul's use of the phrase in Ephesians as do, with other modern commentators, Bishop Ellicott, Meyer, and Professor Riddle, now of the Allegheny Theological Seminary. It is Irenaeus's repeated interpretation,² and is said to be that of the Fathers generally. With this descent to Hades the context associates the words:—

"When He ascended on high
He led captivity captive,
And gave gifts unto men."

Directly, this citation, as appropriated by the Apostle, refers to Christ's conquest of the powers of darkness, and the blessings which in consequence of this victory he is able to dispense to mankind. Dr. Delitzsch associates it with Colossians ii. 15. Indirectly, it suggests an extension of Christ's redeeming activity for mankind to the extremity of their need, and as far as the condescension of his power and love.

ing the condition of the dead even to their state after the separation of soul and body—so far as this was possible to a sinless soul, incapable of penal personal suffering and death. The words: *it is finished*, which Delitzsch pleads, were followed by actual death, as respects the separation of soul and body; why not also by the further element of death, the descent to the place of the dead? But the spirit of Christ could not be holden of death. The depth of his humiliation was the beginning of his triumph. "Quickened in spirit," he began his conquest, and entered on the path to his resurrection, ascension, and highest exaltation. Dorner, with characteristic ethical insight, says of Christ's vanquishing the devil and hell, that "this conquest takes place, not through physical power and force, but through his [Christ's] entire redeeming work." It does not follow, however, that this work has not in it an element supplied by the *descensus*; but, we think, just the contrary. In the discussion with von Hofmann, Delitzsch seems to us to be at a disadvantage from too limited a conception of the meaning of Christ's death. The Reformed Theology suffers from its too penal interpretation of that death; but it holds, if we mistake not, an element of truth which belongs to a doctrinal interpretation of the *descensus*.

¹ *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 289; ii. 163.

² *Adv. Haer.* iv. 22, 1; v. 31, 1. Irenaeus says that our Lord "descended into the lower parts of the earth to behold with his eyes *id quod erat inoperatum conditionis*." Translators render variously these words. Keble's version is, "the unfinished part of Creation." Do they not describe a state or condition of souls not yet brought to normal or ideal spiritual life and activity? Irenaeus applies them to the "prophets and righteous men" referred to in Matt. xiii. 17. They offer a fruitful and larger suggestion. Cf. John x. 10 (*περισσόν*).

This enlarged scope of redemption and its method Dr. Delitzsch finds more plainly taught in the well-known passages in the first Epistle of Peter. Christ preached the gospel in Hades, so he interprets, to those who before had been disobedient. After protracted discussion, and the use anew of all available means of information, the language used by the Apostle, he tells us, seems to him capable of no other interpretation. We cannot follow his careful philological and grammatical examination; but one suggestion that he offers of another sort is within our space, and has not, so far as we have observed, been presented elsewhere. The interpretation, he says, that the preaching to which the Apostle refers was by Christ through Noah runs counter to the current of Messianic history. Christ is preëxistent in the Old Testament economy only in Jehovah, the God revealed in a history of redemption whose goal is the Incarnation, or in the Angel of Jehovah, who, as a manifestation of Jehovah, is a prefiguration of the Incarnation. This being recognized, the supposition that the preaching referred to by the Apostle is that of Christ through Noah is seen in several ways to be unsuitable. First, it supposes a preaching, of which Christ is the subject, that warned of imminent judgment, yet stands in no relation to the expectation of a deliverer, Jehovah, which is fulfilled in Christ. Again, the narrative in Genesis affords no point of attachment for the Christological thought of the Apostle, such as we find elsewhere whenever Old Testament facts and expressions are referred to Christ. No descent of Jehovah is mentioned which can lend support to the word *πορευθείς* ("he went and preached"). Thirdly, we should expect that the human medium of this preaching would be stated, but Noah, as if in disdain of this interpretation, is only incidentally named. Finally, though Old Testament prophetic preaching may be spoken of as a testimony of the spirit of Christ, it is wholly inconceivable why the Apostle should go so far as to regard just this preaching of Noah as a personal *act* of Christ in the spirit.

The connection of thought in the Apostle's teaching is thus traced. He is urging Christians to witness a good confession, and to willingness to suffer. He points to Christ, the great example of both. He suffered, the righteous for the unrighteous. He did not fail to bear witness, to manifest himself, even to those who had been violent in their disobedience. And after He has thus suffered death and entered the world of the dead, He has risen again, and "is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him." The Apostle runs through all the phases of Christ's redemptive work from the passion to the throne.

Near the close of the correspondence, Dr. Delitzsch touches upon an objection which he seems to fear would destroy the influence of the most careful and decisive investigation into the meaning of the Apostle's words, namely, that from the "analogy of faith." He protests against such a misuse of this rule as would exclude an interpretation required by

the Apostle's words. He denies that Hebrews ix. 27, or any other Biblical passage, contradicts this meaning. And adds: "In any event the Lord has descended into Hades as certainly . . . as He has died. Can it be, then, that from Him who had poured out his life-blood 'for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant,' no waited-for and healing influence should proceed upon those who were under the first covenant, and especially upon those who died before his Advent? And can, indeed, a transaction which was recognized by the early church as a fact, which was understood by numberless believers to be the meaning of the article of their creed, *descendit ad inferos*, . . . and of which the writings of all the Greek Fathers are full, stand in such glaring contradiction to the rest of the Biblical teaching? I hold it to be from first to last morally impossible. For we have to do not with a legend of later origin, but, as the Gospel of Nicodemus, which is of historical value, shows, with a representation which reaches back into the faith of the primitive church."

Our notice of these recent testimonies from conservative members of different branches of the Christian Church, whose scholarship and character lend weight to their utterances, imperfect as it is, has justified, we believe, our opening remark as to a certain inevitableness in the expansion of modern Christian thought with reference to the universality of Christianity and to the method by which that universality may be secured. If all discussion of the subject could proceed with the frankness and Christian friendliness shown by Dr. Delitzsch and his opponent, and in the spirit of reverence and candor evinced by Dr. Luckock, and with the earnestness and courage of Dr. Liddon, the result could not fail to be quickening and salutary.

PROFESSOR BRIGGS'S INAUGURAL.

ON the twentieth of January Professor C. A. Briggs was publicly inducted into the chair of Biblical Theology recently founded in Union Theological Seminary. The exercises of inauguration were elaborate and impressive; evidently made so in order to express the belief of the trustees and faculty of the Seminary that the occasion was one of unusual importance. Dr. Briggs's inaugural had as its theme "The Authority of the Bible," and was delivered (the editorial report of "The Evangelist" is our authority here) "with great freedom and magnetic power."

The occasion deserved all the emphasis which impressive exercises could give it. It was an important event; perhaps, as "The Evangelist" thinks, "the most notable event that has recently occurred in the theological world." Professor Briggs has been for years the most conspicuous champion among our evangelical scholars of the methods of modern Biblical research and criticism. He has not tried to conceal the fact that the employment of those methods is not consistent with believing in all

points as the representatives of what he calls "orthodoxism" believe about the Bible. On the contrary, he has insisted on the divergence in emphatic and incisive language. This has naturally caused the representatives of "orthodoxism" to look upon his teaching with disfavor, and to be unwilling that it should be given in one of the most influential seminaries of the Presbyterian Church. If their wishes (which, so far as we know, have never found formal expression) had prevailed, and if Professor Briggs had been removed from his position, the other Presbyterian Biblical teachers of his way of teaching would probably have shared his fate.

"Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent."

It was, therefore, a great day for those who believe that evangelical Biblical scholarship should and must faithfully employ historical criticism when Union Seminary appointed Dr. Briggs to a new chair, one requiring work especially congenial to his ideas. They are delighted to recognize in the specially impressive services of inauguration, and in the fearless tone of the inaugural address, the distinct avowal of the Seminary that it is to stand for the liberty in Biblical scholarship which Professor Briggs defends and represents.

Several religious newspapers have, we regret to see, sharply criticised the address as saying some things about the Scriptures inconsistent with the Protestant belief that they contain the standard of religious faith. This criticism, we are sure, does great injustice to Professor Briggs's attitude toward the Bible, and to the drift and purpose of this address. Careful study of his books has made us believe that Dr. Briggs is distinguished among contemporaneous scholars by a passionate desire that the Bible should have the place in the faith and life of the church which the Reformers assigned to it. This desire, we believe, burns in the address. It glows in these sentences:—

"The Bible rises high above the faults of modern theology." "In all departments of Biblical theology there is new life, and new doctrine, and new morals for the Church of God. More light is about to break forth from the Scriptures upon the Christian world."

And in the polemic utterances of the address we find the same passionate conviction that the Bible is the fullest, deepest, and most authoritative of God's utterances to man. His contention with those who, as he says, build "barriers" between the Bible and the world is that they (unwittingly, of course) keep the revelation of God's love which lives in it from the human heart.

Yet the misunderstanding of Professor Briggs's address which has occasioned these criticisms is not inexplicable. The address contained much controversial matter (perhaps too much for an inaugural), and was in its polemic parts pitched in a rather high key. This would inevitably put some minds into an unsympathetic attitude, and prevent their appre-

ciation of that in the address with which they were in agreement. Then the authorized syllabus given to the newspapers necessarily lacked the fullness of statement and the perspective necessary for a full comprehension of Dr. Briggs's thought.

The writer heard the address when repeated in Boston, and felt that its affirmative and constructive elements had received scanty justice in the syllabus. Indeed, the feeling shown by the speaker respecting the Bible was so reverential, the conviction with which he holds it as the Word of God so ardent, his belief that the church will find new life by devoutly studying it so intense, as to make the suggestion that he holds an unbelieving attitude toward it seem utterly preposterous. The union of the critical with the religious spirit for which he is distinguished among Biblical scholars appeared more plainly even than in his books.

The representative position held by Dr. Briggs makes it important that his thought about the Bible and its authority should not be misapprehended. We will therefore give reasons for thinking that the passages in his inaugural which have been supposed to imply that the Scriptures are not "the supreme rule of faith," do not carry this meaning.

It is said in the opening of the address that "there are historically three fountains of divine authority, the Bible, the church, and the reason." By this is meant that God, the source of all authority, reveals himself through these three channels. For the speaker goes on to say: "The majority of Christians from the Apostolic age have found God through the church." And again: "Another means used by God to make himself known is the forms of reason," etc. The statement thus interpreted is manifestly true. God does show himself to men through the church. The sacraments reveal his grace. The word of preaching makes Him manifest. Dr. Briggs is probably right in saying that "the majority of Christians from the Apostolic age have found God through the church." The church was established to show God to men, and to show Him as the ground of true belief and right living.

And the reason (giving the word as Dr. Briggs does its large meaning) is another means used by God to make "himself known." The moral law within us suggests a lawgiver. Our consciousness of obligation is when fullest and most imperative a consciousness of obligation to a person. What Christian will say that Dr. Martineau, whose name was cited in this connection, is mistaken in believing that God's voice speaks through his conscience? Whether these means of divine revelation do their work independently of each other or not, Dr. Briggs does not say. In saying that the rationalist may find God, he only asserts that the revelation given by the reason does not imply the conscious use of Scripture, or intentional dependence upon the church. He does not say nor suggest that ideas unconsciously derived from church or Bible, or both, may not enter into it as essential elements. In holding that a man may find God who does not use the Bible, he may or may not be right; but

he holds nothing inconsistent with the belief that the Bible contains the supreme revelation and the ultimate test of truth.

The comparative rank of the three means of revealing God and the final test of religious opinion are subjects not discussed in the address. One might properly take for granted, therefore, that its author holds about them the belief expressed in the Westminster symbol, to which he subscribed before delivering his inaugural. Those who have read Dr. Briggs's "Whither?" published in 1889, and have found him saying in it (p. 295), "All Christians hold to the sacred Scriptures as the inspired word of God to guide the church in religion, doctrine, and morals," and again (p. 64), "The late Dr. A. A. Hodge stated that the 'Presbyterian Church, in unison with all evangelical Christians, teaches that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, having been given by the immediate and plenary inspiration of God, are both in meaning and verbal expression the word of God to man.' This statement is correct except in the phrase 'and verbal expression,' which is entirely false," are sure that he holds this belief. For they cannot believe that he has silently changed his mind upon this vital point within two years. The inaugural gives conclusive evidence that he has not changed it.

The religious newspaper which in its comment on the address said, "If we do not mistake the workings of his (Dr. Briggs's) mind, he regards 'the reason' as the *fixed* point, the solid rock of truth to which 'the Bible' must be adjusted at all hazards and by all necessary modifications of faith," has therefore expressed a hasty and mistaken judgment.

The address says, indeed, that the Bible has neither inerrancy nor verbal inspiration. Those who suppose that the Bible is only a "rule of faith" because verbally inspired and inerrant naturally think that this statement virtually denies its authority. But are they right in supposing so? Certainly a multitude of Christian people do not agree with them here, but hold that inspiration need not extend to language, and that the vehicle of a divine revelation may show fallibility in respect to historical detail. They may be wrong, but their error must be proved before it is shown that they do not really hold to the authority of Scripture.

Dr. Briggs has shown in his "Biblical Study" that the great Reformers believed that there are errors in Scripture. To assume that he does not hold to the authority of the Bible because he believes thus, is to assume that Luther and Calvin did not hold to it. It is in the interest of the authority of the Scriptures that he declines to attribute verbal inspiration and inerrancy to them. "The theory of verbal inspiration," he says ("Whither?" p. 65), "cannot admit inspired thoughts in other than inspired words. It therefore results in the denial that there are inspired thoughts in the English Bible. It cuts off the Christian people from the real Word of God and gives them a human substitute." "What a peril to precious souls there is in the terse, pointed sentence, 'A proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine but the Scripture claims,

and therefore its inspiration in making these claims!' No more dangerous doctrine has ever come from the pen of men." ("Whither?" p. 73.) The supremely dangerous doctrine, he here virtually says, is that which conflicts with the authority and inspiration of Scripture. And again (p. 72): "It is not to be presumed that divine inspiration lifted the author above his age any more than was necessary to convey *the divine revelation and the divine instruction with infallible certainty to mankind.*" (Italics ours.)

Is this a mind which "regards the 'reason' as the *fixed* point, the solid rock of truth, to which 'the Bible' must be adjusted at all hazards, and by all necessary modifications of faith"?

The address says that the miracles which the Bible narrates have been used by apologists in a way prejudicial to the influence of the Bible. It does not intimate that miracles did not take place. On the contrary, it not only assumes their existence, but lays great stress on one class of them, theophanies, miracles in which God appeared among men, showing "his form in the midst of the elements of nature and his countenance in the faces of intelligent beings." We quote a passage from "Whither?" in which his thought about the miraculous as centring in the Theophany is more fully given. "These manifestations of God in the forms of space and time and in the sphere of physical nature are of vast importance in the unfolding of divine revelation. These are the centres from which miracles and prophecies flow. If there were such theophanies or divine manifestations in the successive stages of divine revelation, then we should expect miracles in the physical world and prophecy in the world of man. If Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh, then prophecy and miracles are exactly what we should expect so long as He abode in the flesh in this world." (P. 279.)

Dr. Briggs's criticism of the ordinary apologetic use of miracles has regard only to the manner in which they are presented. The most important side of them, the ethical, is kept in the background. They are presented as wonders of power rather than of love. But "the miracles of the Bible are miracles of redemption."

The apologetic use of prophecy is also criticised for overworking (which has involved exaggerating) its marvelous side and overlooking its ethical. God does not write history beforehand with the aim of showing men his superior knowledge. His predictions are means for the accomplishments of loving ends, not the registered decrees of fate. "God has recalled more than one of his messages of woe." "He postpones judgment till men count him slack in the fulfillment of his promises and mock and jeer at his justice."

We should have been glad to discuss Dr. Briggs's views of the scope and function of Biblical theology, and some of the doctrinal statements incidentally made in his address. But for this we have left ourselves no room. We will, therefore, not depart from the line of our thought, and

only move on in it a single step by quoting a sentence from his article on "Biblical Theology" in the "Presbyterian Review" for 1882, which sums up his conception of the science. It is good reading for those who deprecate the introduction of what they deem this rationalistic, destructive science into a Presbyterian school of theology.

"Biblical Theology would not present a mere conglomerate of heterogeneous material in a bundle of heterogeneous Hebrew literature, but would ascertain whether there is not some principle of organization; and it finds that principle in a supernatural divine revelation and communication of redemption in the successive covenants of grace extending through many centuries, operating through many minds, and in a great variety of literary styles, employing all the faculties of men and all the types of human nature, in order to the accomplishment of one massive, all-embracing, and everlasting *Divine Word* adapted to every age, every nation, every type of character, every temperament of mankind; the whole world."

THE PRELUDES OF HARPER'S FERRY.

CONCORD, MASS., December 22, 1890.

To the Editors of the Andover Review:

In a paper with the above title Mr. W. P. Garrison has seen fit to question, in your pages, the evidence upon which I stated in "The Life and Letters of John Brown" (Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1885), that Brown "declared a definite plan of attacking slavery in one of its strongholds, by force, as early as 1839." It does not appear that Mr. Garrison himself possesses any evidence on this point, nor did he take the trouble to inquire what testimony I could bring forward. He preferred to impute to me extraordinary negligence or indifference respecting facts easily accessible to a biographer who had intimately known John Brown and his family for nearly thirty years; and that, too, concerning a matter which had repeatedly been given to the public, and never, so far as is known, questioned by any one before. Brown had himself mentioned it to many persons in his lifetime; his widow mentioned it to Colonel Higginson, Wendell Phillips, and other friends in 1859, and they made it public. So well was it known to those in Brown's confidence, that Theodore Parker said (writing from Rome to a friend in Boston), November 26, 1859: "If I am rightly informed, he has cherished this scheme of liberating the slaves in Virginia for more than thirty years, and laid his plans when he was a land-surveyor in that very neighborhood where his gallows (I suppose) has since grown. This is in accordance with his whole character and life." Certainly it is; for John Brown, unlike Garrison and most of the abolitionists, was bred up from boyhood in anti-slavery principles. His father, Owen Brown, was an abolitionist as early as 1790; and John Brown had his own anti-slavery character fixed, as he tells us, by an incident occurring in 1812, when he was a boy of twelve.

Mr. Garrison, proceeding from one conjecture to another, next says: "As to the acquainting his family with his purpose of attacking slavery

in arms, in 1839, the proof is again wholly defective." Had he consulted Brown's biographer, or Brown's family, Mr. Garrison could have learned what this proof is. In order that your readers may judge how "defective" it is, I will add here a letter written to me by the oldest surviving son of John Brown, to whom I appealed for evidence, and who will no doubt be accepted as a witness, competent, truthful, and with no possible motive for misrepresentation. I may add that John Brown, Jr., made this statement to me as early as 1878, and that similar accounts of the transaction were given me, then, or at other times, by Mrs. Mary Brown, the widow of the martyr, and by his sons, Jason and Owen.

F. B. SANBORN.

PUT-IN-BAY, OHIO, *December 12, 1890.*

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have yours of the 6th inst., inclosing an article from the "Andover Review," written by Mr. Wendell Phillips Garrison, entitled "The Preludes of Harper's Ferry. — I. John Brown, Practical Shepherd." In that article it appears that Mr. Garrison attempts to settle the question of how early father formed his plan to attack slavery by force. It is, of course, impossible for me to say when such idea and plan first entered his mind and became a purpose; but I can say with certainty that he first informed his family that he entertained such purpose while we were yet living in Franklin, O. (now called Kent), and before he went to Virginia in 1840 to survey the lands which had been donated by Arthur Tappan to Oberlin College; and this was certainly as early as 1839. The place and the circumstances where he first informed us of that purpose are as perfectly in my memory as any other event of my life. Father, mother, Jason, Owen, and I were, late in the evening, seated around the fire in the open fire-place of the kitchen, in the old Haymaker house, where we then lived; and there he first informed us of his determination to make war on slavery, — not such war as Mr. Garrison informs us "was equally the purpose of the non-resistant abolitionists," — but war by force and arms.

He said that he had long entertained such a purpose, that he believed it his duty to devote his life, if need be, to this object; which he made us fully to understand. After spending considerable time in setting forth, in most impressive language, the hopeless condition of the slave, he asked *who* of us were willing to make common cause with him, in doing all in our power to "break the jaws of the wicked, and pluck the spoil out of his teeth." Naming each of us in succession, "Are you, Mary, John, Jason, and Owen?" Receiving an affirmative answer from each, he knelt in prayer, and all did the same. This posture in prayer impressed me greatly, as it was the first time I had ever known him to assume it. After prayer, he asked us to raise our right hands, and he then administered to us an oath, the exact terms of which I cannot recall, but in substance it bound us to secrecy and devotion to the purpose of fighting slavery, by force and arms, to the extent of our ability. According to Jason's recollection, Mr. Fayette, a colored theological student at Western Reserve College (Hudson, Ohio), was with us at the time, but of this I am not certain, — he was often at our house. As to the others, I know they were present; and if my affidavit could add any strength to my statement, I am ready to make it. At that time Jason was about sixteen years old, Owen between fourteen and fifteen, and I was between eighteen and nineteen years of age.

If there had not afterwards been an opening for slavery in Kansas, it is possible his attack upon it in the States would have been longer delayed; but he was not the man to abandon the most deeply cherished purpose of his life. He would have played his hand, even if he played it alone.

Mr. Garrison's article, as an argument, may be stated in all its strength in these terms: "If John Brown entertained the purpose, as early as 1839, of making a forcible attack on slavery, he would have made a record of such purpose in his little memorandum-book. No such record can be found in his memorandum-book. *Therefore* John Brown did not entertain such purpose as early as 1839. *Which is demonstrated.*"

The good taste displayed by Mr. Garrison in virtually attempting to impeach John Brown's own statements to you and others regarding this matter, as well as the statements of his family (two of them living witnesses), is not quite apparent. Perhaps this should be wholly charged to a great hunger for controversy; which, it is hoped, may henceforth find satisfaction without attacking the veracity of the sincere friends of his father and his family.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN BROWN, JR.

F. B. SANBORN, Esq., Concord, Mass.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

AMERICAN antiquities have assumed a painful phase of late. They have been mixed with spectres of Indian plots and war. Nothing could be more vital than Miss Alice C. Fletcher's discussion of the "Messiah Craze" at the second annual meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society, which was held at Columbia College Thanksgiving week. Cambridge, in its University papers, strikes a kindred note. Professor Bandelier's report of "Investigations among the Indians of the Southwest United States" makes the pages of the Archæological Institute glow. "The Indian religion bows to the season for its rites . . . and places animals on a footing of equality with mankind." The red man is a slave to witchcraft. His dances, now grotesque, now shocking, are his magical spell against his foes. The Spaniards always knew mischief was brewing when an Indian dance began. To the Ethnological Bureau at Washington, sorcery has been at the bottom of the recent troubles.

Bishop Hare ascribes the Messiah fanaticism to the heathen party among the red men. "Pressed by the advance of the whites on the one hand, and by the civilized and progressive party among the Indians on the other, the fiercer Indians find themselves cornered, and are like wild animals at bay. Hence the flame of delusion has been fanned with desperation. Savage seers have predicted the coming of the Son of God to avenge the wild Indian, and to swallow up the whites in an earthquake. Braves don the mysterious shirt and whirl like dervishes in the ghost dance, crying, 'The buffalo are coming.' Finally they swoon. In this state they see, or think they see, their departed friends and the new Christ. How intense this struggle of Paganism to reinstate itself appears in the speech of a prophet at Rosebud Indian Agency: 'Our Father in Heaven has placed a mark at each point of the four winds: First, a clay pipe, which lies at the setting of the sun, and represents the Sioux tribe; second, there is a holy arrow lying at the north, which

represents the Cheyenne tribe; third, at the rising of the sun, there lies hail, representing the Arapahoe tribe; and, fourth, there lies a pipe and nice feather at the south, which represents the Crow tribe. There may be soldiers round you. Do not mind them. Continue the dance. If the soldiers surround you four deep, three of you upon whom I have put holy shirts will sing a song which I have taught you, and some of them will drop dead. Then the rest will start to run, but their horses will sink into the earth." To have unchained such furies of heathen superstition is a responsibility from which one can only hope a Christian government is as free as is demonstrably the Christian missionary.

That detestable word "Americanist" has come into new vogue, — first by the essays of Dr. D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, under that title. This does not prevent his book from being instructive and stimulating, though the author frankly owns himself, on certain points, at variance with most modern anthropologists. The most conspicuous of his heresies is the origination of American men on the American continent. Dr. Brinton attacks the theory of the Mongoloid genesis of the North American Indian. So vehement a broadside of facts and arguments must do execution. To him the red man and the mound-builder are one. Each has sprung from the soil.

The address of M. de Quatrefages at the Eighth International Congress of Americanists is in a totally different vein. That learned member of the Institute, on October 18, at Paris, said, categorically, "In my view, America was originally, and has always been, peopled by migrations from the Old World." Putting away dogmatic considerations in favor of science, and admitting that man is subject to all the general laws which control animals and plants, M. Quatrefages made a powerful argument in favor of America's colonization, like Polynesia's, from Asia. The Tertiary tribes crossed with the reindeer on the bridge of ice spanning Behring's Sea. "Every year the winter rebuilds the bridge which connects East Cape with Cape Prince of Wales." The Aleutian Islands and Alaska formed a second route to tribes but imperfectly skilled in navigation. Through strata and their fossils, comparative craniology, linguistics, and ethnography, the Americanist will trace the itineraries of his ancestors, till some day the map of American migrations will be delineated from Asia to Greenland and Cape Horn. It is no small merit of the "Popular Science Monthly" of January, that it has translated this most remarkable paper of a remarkable gathering.

"Were the Druids in America?" is a question which will seem preposterous to some. It is discussed by the "American Antiquarian" of September last. The cremated body at the base of the Serpent Effigy near Quincy, Illinois, is the starting-point. With the Druids, fire-worship, sun-worship, serpent-worship, and phallic-worship formed a complex system which stamped itself on the megalithic monuments of the land. Do these things in America combine with the cremation of the dead, as on Druidic altars, to attest the influence of Druidic priests in pre-Columbian times? The writer inclines to the affirmative, though with hesitation.

From such dubious speculations we pass to firmer ground in the Chinese Ideas of Inspiration. These were drawn out in a clear and masterly way before the American Oriental Society, at its annual autumnal meeting in Princeton, by President Martin, of the Imperial College, Peking. The Taoist is a materialist, yet he believes in spirit-bodies

resisting decay, and able, by the magic pen, to manifest themselves to their surviving human friends. Although an Idealist, the Buddhist has not disdained to seek for light from above in a similar gross way. It is not to be wondered at that protests against forged revelations are rife. How about Confucianism, which is the dominant religion of the Flowery Kingdom? The Confucianist is an "Ethical Sadducee." Confucius himself is a man, not a god; an example, not a prophet. Yet he has edited, and so authenticated, a large portion of the Chinese Canons of nine books. Only two chapters claim to be of supernatural authority, — each having been brought from the river by a monster, half-dragon, half-horse. These are the mystic tables of the Tortoise and the so-called Great Plan. The latter is a political system. The Book of Odes speaks of a revelation of the Divine Will through wise men, of whom Confucius is highest. He does not doubt that his teaching is from Heaven, albeit by natural channels, instead of supernatural. His writings are therefore holy and unalterable. We are glad that Dr. Cyrus Adler, at this same session, should have unfolded the plan of the Oriental exhibit at the Chicago Fair, and that the society should have unanimously adopted Professor Richard Gottheil's motion: "The American Oriental Society has heard with pleasure that the Committee of the World's Columbian Exposition intends to make an exhibit of Oriental life and history, and cordially offers any scientific assistance in its power." Dr. Adler will visit the East in person before the Exposition in the West.

Johns Hopkins University, whose financial embarrassment, it is pleasant to know, is a thing of the past, submitted, through Professor Jastrow, advanced sheets of the "Assyrian Glossary," prepared by its Semitic Seminary.

The November number of the "University Circulars" of the same active institution prints President Gilman's fresh and scholarly address at the opening of the Fifteenth Academic Year. He brought, from the land where Moses and Plato studied, ancient gold coins, the gift of the lamented Hon. Eugene Schuyler. He also brought from Carthage a sense of the unity of history, — having stood where a successor of Cyprian had just built "a metropolitan church on the height which is at once the Bozrah (Byrsa) of Dido and the hill of Saint Lewis, the spot from which Gaiseric ruled the seas, the spot to which Heraclitus dreamed of transmitting the dominion of the elder and younger Rome."

The name of the famous hero of the Nimrod epic, whose text has been so beautifully published by Professor Paul Haupt, has been deciphered by Theodore Pinches, of the British Museum. Instead of *Gisdhubar*, it is *Gilgames*. Professor Sayce calls attention to the identity of this name with *Gilgames*, described on the page of *Ælian*. He was the son of the daughter of Sakkhoras, King of the Babylonians. Flung from a tower by his grandfather, who feared to be dethroned by him, he was saved by an eagle in mid-air, and brought up by a gardener. The resemblance between *Gilgames* and *Perseus* is striking. Dr. William Hayes Ward confirms the latter identification from a cylinder formerly published by himself, and quoted in the very number of the "Babylonian and Oriental Record" announcing Mr. Pinches' discovery. He says of this and of another cylinder: "Both . . . give the representation of a small, naked human figure astride the back of a flying eagle and holding to its neck." The Eastern mythological literature has now yielded the original of the Ganymede myth for which scholars waited. "The per-

sonage being borne by the eagle on these two cylinders," evidently archaic and from Southern Babylonia, "is apparently no other than the Gilgames of Ælian, the Gilgames of Mr. Pinches' syllabary, and the Gisdhubar of the famous Babylonian epic." The two dogs are not looking up. That would be un-Babylonian adoration. They are simply baffled of their prey. The man driving the flock is probably the guardian of the child, intrusted with it by the eagle. Recall the legend of Sargon of Accad.

While we are treating of winged personages, we do well to speak of Professor Tylor's article in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology" of last June. The title is, "The Winged Figures of the Assyrian and Other Ancient Monuments." From botany, art, and literature the learned author makes it plain that the sacred tree of the Assyrians is the palm. Then he shows that the winged deities, with cone and bucket, not only approach the sacred palm-tree, but are bringing into contact the male and female inflorescences. Sometimes the sun itself is held over this palm-tree, — since a failure of the date crop, even in modern times, is equivalent to famine. The cherubim of Ezekiel, with their four wings and the likeness of the hands of a man, have the two special characteristics belonging to the Assyrian deity figured in Tylor's plates, — "majestically striding with the fertilizing cone in his hand." Through the Phœnicians, the Assyrian figures had long before become familiar to the Hebrew mind, as appears when the Tyrian workmen are related to have adorned the Temple of Solomon with "carved figures of cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers." Originally derived from Egypt, these Assyrian winged deities are the predecessors of the winged genii whose graceful forms pervade Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art. When Christianity became the religion of imperial Rome, the genii became the angels of Christian art. The "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," of September-October, honors itself no less than the author by translating his fascinating article in full.

The same number apprises its readers of Dr. Jensen's results in the realm of Babylonian cosmology. With some sharp criticism of theory and statement, M. Halévy hails in the book a rich and useful repertory. The Babylonians had no word for world or universe. They used instead expressions signifying heaven and earth, and the like. Counting downwards, they divided the world into five parts. The first was heaven, "a hollow, or rather tent, pierced with two doors, facing each other, — the eastern, from which the sun issues every morning; the western, into which he enters every evening." The planets were early ascribed to special deities. Comets bore the name of "stars of the Raven," and meteors, of "stars bursting on high." To the earth they gave three divisions. The first was the surface, conceived of as mountain, and culminating in the northern mountain of the world. Next yawned the kingdom of the dead, in its interior, walled and gated, with the water of life. Third came the primordial waters of the ocean, around and below. It is curious that the fourth of Dr. Jensen's zodiacal constellations — "The Star of Prosperity" — should be to him Antares, and to Halévy, Sirius!

An astronomical interest invests also the first of the three Babylonian antiquities so lately discovered in the heart of the city of London. The signs of the zodiac are on it, symbolized by fantastic animals. Number two is a diorite door socket. The inscription tells us that it belonged to a building erected by Gudea, the famous ruler of Sirpurla. The third

fragment offers a specimen of the archaic primitive script. This was part of a basin of hard, black stone, square outside, hollowed to a circle within. It perhaps held holy water for ceremonial purifications, like the elaborate trough at the entrance of the palace at Tel-lo. The Prince Pontiff had relations to it. How should these pre-Semitic monuments of Chaldæa be found under old houses in Knightrider Street? The conjecture is that they were buried under the great fire of London. As Dutch tiles were near these stones of Chaldæa, they may have been brought in the ship of a Dutch merchant. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company had a trading factory at Bassorah, the port of Bagdad where M. de Sarzec was stationed when he discovered the treasures of Tel-lo. As ballast or as curiosities the stones might have come to the capital of England to be lost and found. Now they are in the British Museum.

Russian America had its prehistoric necropoli. These have been explored, sketched, and classified by J. de Morgan, a delegate of the French Minister of Public Education. One can see the bold, extinct volcano of Selwar, seamed by ravines and surrounded by mines. Here, before the Aryan migrations, dwelt a race enjoying a rich soil and a benign climate, sheltered, as in a niche, from the movements of the more civilized world without. Yet the remains of their fourteen cemeteries are not wholly indigenous. The huge stones, like veritable dolmens, were proto-Armenian, to be sure. So were the dirks with triangular blades. On the other hand, the swords, with a short handle and without a guard, remind us of the weapons of Assyria. These may well be contemporary with the great campaigns of Nineveh which resulted in the fall of Ourartou and the submission of the white Allophytes. The most unique and interesting arm exhumed was the bow. Of this many specimens survive, — for the most part long, curved triply, and sometimes shooting arrows with obsidian tips. Bronze bracelets abound. Numbers of them are of the exact weight of an Assyrian mina. This country of mines seems to have imposed its weights on its unmetallic neighbor and customer. Pins are the most characteristic trinkets which each corpse wore. It is interesting to mark the slender pyramidal shape of the most ancient. Then come those of rounded head, covered with delicate chisellings, or with the swastika and the cross. Latest of all, the head becomes octagonal. These thick and short pins are in contrast to the long and slender ones of the Caucasus. There has been found nothing like them except at Hissarlik, where Schliemann came upon a mould for casting their precise counterparts, — mistaken by him, most excusably, for arrowheads. Vases are in the oldest tombs. The most elaborate affect irregular forms and copy animals. Here they show palpable traces of Iranian influence, reminding of the sculptures of Ossethie now in the Museum of Lyons. The conclusions reached are: —

(1.) The arts developed originally among the white Allophytes of the Caucasus without trace of foreign influence.

(2.) The people of Selwar were in commercial relations to the Assyrians.

(3.) The Ossethians brought new arts in their migration to Caucasus, tingeing not a little the tendencies of the white Allophytes.

(4.) The latest tombs are subsequent to the arrival of the Ossethians in the eighth or seventh century, and anterior to the Persian Conquest in the fifth century, — a conquest which spread the Mazdean religion and ended the inhumation of the dead.

How doctors can disagree has been vividly shown in the discussions over M. Heuzey's Louvre reliefs. On his green platter he finds warriors of a marked Asiatic character, and a hunting scene of a hare and gazelles, after the vigorous style of Chaldean art. Professor Maspero detects in the technique of the hair, in the skirt, in the animal skin, and in the arms, a distinctly Egyptian character. Of the two flags, one is Western and the other Eastern Egypt. Budge pronounces similar reliefs in the British Museum to be Mesopotamian. For the lions are like the Assyrian sculptures, the birds are identical with those found on the Babylonian landmarks, and the features of the men are Shemitic. Probably they were made in the sixteenth century B. C., and sent by his Mesopotamian allies to Amenophis III. the Lion-hunter. But giraffes browsing on a palm-tree are an anachronism on a Mesopotamian stone. The giraffe has been restricted to the Ethiopian region during the historical period. The feathered headdress of the huntsmen also is Cushite. These and other considerations lead Professor Sayce to see here a specimen of prehistoric Ethiopian art. He would compare them with the Bushmen paintings on the Rocks of Southern Africa.

The last indefatigable explorer, decipherer, and archæologist has given us, in the December "Contemporary Review," a sample from the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets. This time Jerusalem is read upon them. The monarch is more than an Egyptian official, he is a feudal lord. He derives his authority from the oracle of the Mighty King. No doubt Melchizedek is suggested, who was King of Salem and Priest of the Most High God. This mighty king was Marru (Lord), and is the same with the Babylonian deity Uras. An oracle of the God of Jerusalem reads: "So long as a ship crosses the sea, — this is the oracle of the Mighty King, — so long shall the conquests continue of Nahrina and the Babylonians." Now Nahrina is the Aram-Naharaim of the Old Testament. Hence a new light on the story in Judges of the occupation of South Palestine. Chushan Rishathaim is a successor of the princes whose conquests were proclaimed by the oracle on Moriah. It was an anticipation of the career which Balaam predicted for the star of Jacob.

"The Destruction of Egyptian Monuments" is the sad refrain of Henry Wallis in the November number of the "Nineteenth Century." The four great causes are, native greed and fanaticism, unchecked ardor of the votaries of science, natural decay of buildings, and periodic inundations. The vandalism of the tourist is not to be named beside the apathy of the government. A great petition to Lord Salisbury for the appointment of an English inspector of these imperiled relics has been signed by men of all ranks and creeds. When orders are issued to dismantle the Pyramids for building purposes, it is time surely to awake. The director of the Cairo Museum cannot always be present to arrest such scandalous blows. Fortunately, the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which has already begun under the harmonious coöperation of French and English influences, will tend to restrain the extent and minimize the mischief of demolition.

Miss Amelia B. Edwards, whose prolonged illness has pained and alarmed her friends, calls attention to one feature of the objects found in the workmen's town of the twelfth dynasty by Mr. Petrie. A panic seems to have struck it. "The women left not only their wheels and spindles, of which a large number were found, but also a store of dyed wool not yet spun; the net-makers left their netting-needles, their netting,

and balls of twine which were not yet made up; the weaver left his beam and the flat sticks with which he beat up his web; and in the shop of a metal-caster were found not only a fine bronze hatchet, ready for sale, but his whole stock in trade, in the shape of moulds for casting chisels, knives, and hatchets." One is reminded of Pompeii. Remains of peas, beans, cucumbers, and radishes strewed the ruins of the oldest houses of the same wonderful town. The *Mimusops Schimperi* now only occurs in Central Africa and Abyssinia. Its fruit and leaves were found at Kahun. Possibly Mr. Newberry is right in identifying it with the *Persea-tree*, which occurs so frequently in Egyptian wall-paintings, but has never as yet been satisfactorily identified.

"The Egypticity of the Pentateuch: an Argument for its Traditional Authority," is the attractive title of a paper by Dr. A. H. Kellogg in the "Presbyterian and Reformed Review" of October last. With much learning, acumen, and vigor the author presents four considerations favoring the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy and the Scriptures before it. The first is the Hebrew term for Egypt, which is not a singular, *Kham*, but *Mizraim*, a dual, that is, the two *M-zors*, or fortresses, as the Egyptians were wont to speak of the two lands. The second is the correspondence of the Hebrew and Egyptian traditions respecting the origin of the Egyptians and their ethnic and linguistic affinities. Third, the Hebrew cosmogony itself, which is more closely allied to the Egyptian than to the Babylonian. Fourth, the story of the Exodus from Egypt argues a writer as competent and accurate as Moses, who knew Egypt at first hand.

This leads us to the priestly character of the early Egyptian civilization. To glance at the inscriptions is to observe that almost every person who has left a name had among his titles at least one of an unmistakably sacerdotal stamp. Besides recognized hierarchial titles, are others which can be proven to be similar. Such were the *suteniu*. The word is derived from the verb *seten*, meaning to slaughter. The slaughterer is not, however, a butcher, but a minister of the gods. Older still than the priestly lists of Dendera and Edfu are the funeral rites, which run back to immemorial antiquity, and among the officiating priests are the *erpa* and the *smer*. The latter is not a friend but a functionary. By virtue of his religious office he participates in religious ceremonies. The *smer* might be a woman. The queen of Chafra, or Chephren, builder of the second Pyramid, whose cartouche has just been discovered in red paint, was the *smerit* of Horus. The *erpa* was the sacred title, not the secular, of the great monarchs of the twelfth dynasty, some of whom, as Maspero tells us, were chiefs of the hierarchy of Thoth. In short, as Renouf has made clear in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," from which the foregoing facts are drawn, "almost every noble and wealthy personage employed in the administration of the different departments of the state belonged to one or more of the many priesthoods of the country."

The past season Palestine and not Egypt has claimed Petrie. The July and October statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund give his own account of his explorations. A vizerial permit was granted early in February. It did not reach Mr. Petrie in Jerusalem till the last of March. His three weeks' delay were utilized in discussing masonry and measuring tombs. "Far the commonest cubit is of 22.6 inches, which is evidently the Phœnician cubit of 22.3 at Carthage." A little before

Easter he went to Tell-Hesy, which his trained eye saw instantly to be "worth a dozen of all the other places put together." Here was a lofty mound, with the only spring for miles around. Was it Lachish? Certainly Umm Lâkis was not. Only Roman remains were there. Lachish was one of the five strongholds of the Amorites. Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, and Eglon were the others. According to Eusebius, Lachish lay in the low country of this very district. Tell-Hesy's natural advantages and geographical site, and the juxtaposition of Tell Nejleh of the same apparent age, gave to Petrie the idea from the start that *Lachish* and *Eglon* were before him. At great discomfort from heat, noise, influenza, and inefficient laborers he attacked this mound, in which town after town rose in strata. On the top he struck the peculiar pottery of Naukratis. This was known to be about 600 B. C. Just outside the circuit of the town was a sandhill cemetery full of little brown flasks. These were the facsimiles of those found at Ilahun, dated say 1100 B. C. The place, then, must be old as the Judges, and was destroyed at Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, was the swift conclusion.

By the end of May, the sagacious excavator and savant had reached far more definite and startling results. He had become familiar with the Amorite pottery, with its peculiar comb-streaking on the surface, wavy ledges for handles, and polished, red-faced bowls, dating from 1500 to 1100 B. C. This was rendered possible by the winter torrents having eaten away the whole east side of the town. From top to bottom a grand section lay exposed, giving at a stroke a series of all the varieties of pottery consecutively for a thousand years. The absolute point of date was assured him by the position in the gashed and ragged Tell, some distance from the bottom, of the thin black Phœnician pottery, which was known in Egyptian remains as belonging to about 1100 B. C!

The earliest town was of enormous strength, for the lowest wall was nearly thirty feet thick, of unburnt bricks. Mr. Petrie well says it agrees with the account in Numbers that the cities were walled and very great, and in Deuteronomy that they were great and walled to heaven. The Karnak sculptures of Rameses' conquests furthermore match this trait by the massive fortifications they uniformly assign to the Amorite cities. The next period was marked by a stratum of five feet of dust and rolled stones out of the valley below, lying in confusion on the ruins of the great Amorite wall. This accords with what we glean as to the barbaric period of the Judges. Above we meet a period of wall-building, which goes on with intermissions to the end of the history. On the north and west is the first of these walls, thirteen feet thick. This probably belonged to Rehoboam's re-fortification of Lachish, mentioned in 2 Chron. xi. 9, under his new relations to Israel and Egypt. Four rebuildings are traceable on the eastern face. Who can help recalling the fortifications recorded in the sacred narrative under Asa, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, and Manasseh?

On the south a different character of walls appears. One of the latest is a massive brick wall twenty-five feet thick, and still of a considerable height. We may suppose this the work of King Manasseh. Under it was a great sloping glacis, of stone blocks faced with plaster. Perhaps this was due to Hezekiah's hasty defenses against the Assyrian invader, Sennacherib. Ten feet lower down came a large building almost ninety feet in length, with walls of brick over four feet in thickness. This can hardly be earlier than Uzziah, the royal builder. Go down ten feet lower and

you strike another clay-brick structure. It has been ruined, burned, and rudely rebuilt. One can scarcely date it later than 900 B. C. — perhaps 1000 B. C. Here we are at last facing a work of the early Jewish kings, it may be executed by the same school of masons who built and adorned the Temple of Solomon. There are doorways of fine white limestone, and pilasters with sloping sides resting on a low cushion base, and with a volute at the top. This volute seems to have relations to the Ionic capital, and possibly reveals its evolution from a ram's horn. Where, in Jerusalem, masonry everywhere exhibits the marginal draft, and shows the usage of the claw-tool, the latter is conspicuously absent from these regal structures of so many generations.

Tell-Hesi was described by a visitor as "a hurt creature of the geologic ages fallen in its dying agonies." It was well that it was hurt by a hunter who was also a healer, and out of its very wounds was able to draw such varied, unerring, and vital archæological oracles. No man living had been in a better school, or seized a nobler occasion to lay down a scientific chronology for future excavations in the Holy Land.

The Fellahin, however, robbed Mr. Petrie on the way to Jaffa. The forgers of ancient stones have lately robbed the Tunnel of Siloam of its famous inscription. In the one case they missed the large sum in gold which was in the bottom of a tin box full of photographic plates. In the other they missed the paper squeezes, and the casts of the original before it was treated with hydrochloric acid. A correspondent of Prof. J. Rendel Harris visited last October the wealthy Greek who was said to possess the new Hebrew inscription in the Phœnician character. His wife, in her husband's absence, unwittingly showed him first the Great Inscription of Siloam. Then she brought out the novelty. It read: "This drain was made at the command of ninety and laborers ninety, and the outlay ninety; remember thou wilt find before thee ninety and behind thee ninety; take it and thou shalt raise it to a river, and the work is strengthened from Mount Qarhu, from thy work to the place which men will call, and thou shalt remember it, Shiloah." These numerical details aimed to complete the Siloam inscription after kidnapping the original witness. In vain. The Arab *B* for the Hebrew *P* at once laid bare the fraud. The correspondent hurried back to the Tunnel to find the vandalism an accomplished fact. Professor Harris tells us this story most charmingly and instructively in the "Sunday School Times" of December 6.

Another savant in Greek, Professor Mahaffy, has been translating, not a loss, but a find, to wit, the Petrie papyri. They came from Kurob, in the Fayoum, near Crocodilopolis. These Greek MSS., of the third century before Christ at the latest, almost take away the breath of the translator by their unprecedented antiquity. They include portions of the *Phædo* of Plato, beautifully written in an edition de luxe, and the concluding scenes of the *Antiope* of Euripides, containing parts of the play hitherto unknown. These papyri were in layers, glued together so as to make the thick cartonnage of mummy cases, when the native revolt against the foreigner made Greek literature of little worth. Another class of papers consisted of wills. Some are dated in the exact formula of the reign of the third Ptolemy, which is known from the Canopus inscription. Not a single Egyptian name occurs among the testators. All are Greeks and Macedonians, who by their sears and regiments are evidently members of a military colony. It is extremely interesting to see that the wills

uniformly affirm the sound mind and good understanding of the testator, and name as executors the reigning king and queen. The brief physical descriptions remind one of a modern passport. Some words are unknown to us save in the Septuagint. Among them may be cited ἀναφάλαντος, bald on the top of the head; ὑποκίπης, short-sighted; πυρράκης, ruddy or red-haired, all used in descriptions of persons. In the "Athenæums" of October 25 and December 6 may be read a much fuller account of these treasures, rivaling the Ranier papyri made known by Karabacek. Could we ask for more? The "London Times" of January 19 announces the discovery by the authorities of the British Museum, among their new Egyptian papyri, of the text of Aristotle's treatise on the Constitution of Athens!

On the whole, however, no publication at home or abroad furnishes so complete a chronicle of archæological news as the "American Journal of Archæology," of which the accomplished managing editor, Professor A. L. Frothingham, Jr., is a member of the faculty of Princeton. In September, 1890, it told its readers of the opening of the tumulus of Marathon. The name was ambiguous, — *Soros*. Was it Σορός, a heap? or was it Σορός, a coffin? Was it prehistoric, as the obsidian arrowheads intimated? Not necessarily. For the reed spears of the Ethiopian troops of Xerxes were tipped with heads of hard stone, if like those described by Herodotus. The man Schliemann found nothing historic there in 1884. Schliemann's method in the hands of the Ephorate of Antiquities in 1890 reached the grave of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who fell at Marathon, and whose bodies were burned by their fellow citizens. The vases date the cremation absolutely at the beginning of the fifth century. How the naturalized American — now, too, alas! among the dead — who had made Greece his passion and his home, must have rejoiced!

Delphi in the market! was the cry two years ago. The sum of \$80,000, to be raised by America to compensate the villagers of Castri, has been the appeal to men of wealth and culture up to within a few months. When the great concession was on the eve of realization, the last penny having been raised, the Greek ministry fell. The message of the Archæological Institute announcing the raising of the stipulated price reached Athens two days after Tricoupi's retirement. It is feared his successor favors the French claim to excavate the religious centre of Hellas. "What is the prospect about Delphi?" cabled President Low of Columbia. "Critical, but not desperate," flashed back the answer from Dr. Waldstein, Director of the American School. Let us hope that the nation of Schliemann, of Sterrett, of Goodwin, of Norton, of Merriam, of Gildersleeve, of Potter, of Marquand, will not have the door of the hall in which the Amphictyonic Council sat shut in its face, and be robbed by a rival of the glory of uncovering the foundations of the Temple of Apollo.

John Phelps Taylor.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES.

XI. JAPAN (*continued*).

WE have to get used to many changes of nomenclature in Japan. The city of Yedo is now Tokyo (or, as others write it, Tokio), and the great northern island of Yezo must henceforth, it appears, be known as Hokkaido. The American Board has not yet taken up any direct labor in the island, but its missionaries frequently visit it, and various Japanese Christians from the greater island have settled there. It is becoming a good health resort for missionaries living farther south. Dr. Berry, of Kyoto, writes, in the "Missionary Herald" for January, 1889, from Sapporo, the capital: "The history of the work there well illustrates what a Christian teacher may do in a government school in Japan. The early influence of President Clark, when at the head of the Agricultural College at Sapporo, has steadily grown, until now we find there an independent, self-sustaining, and self-propagating church of one hundred and thirty members, and embracing those of the very best families in the city." At Mombetsu, also, a church of one hundred is mentioned, of like character. "At Hokodate, too, it was pleasant to be welcomed by young men, strong, influential, educated,—men who will be a power in moulding public opinion and in shaping the future of the island."

The aboriginal Ainos, whose physical type is rather Aryan than Mongolian, and who, although now barbarous, seem to have decided moral and religious susceptibilities, have as yet only one missionary among them, the Rev. Mr. Batchelor, of the Church of England. They are not diminishing in number, and are likely to be soon admitted to the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Although the negotiations for corporate union between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians of Japan have failed, for the present, yet the "Missionary Herald" attests that the conferences have developed "a warm feeling of mutual attachment, interest, and brotherly love."

At Nagaoka, the chief justice and his wife have joined the Christians. The "Japan Weekly Mail," which is known as inclining to the denial of all supernatural claims of religion, takes issue with Canon Taylor's disparagement of missions. It declares that computations as to number and cost of converts are singularly inapplicable to Japan. "The good done by missionaries in this country is not to be measured at all by the arithmetical gain they secure to Christendom. First among their eminently useful achievements is the quickening impulse their presence and propagandism impart to the general cause of religion."

The rapidity with which the gospel has been diffused in Japan must not mislead us into supposing that the elements of a violent and even a persecuting reaction are not largely present in the nation, or that the mass of the Japanese are favorable. The "Missionary Herald" for May, 1889, remarks: "Mr. C. H. Gulick reports from Kumamoto that, while the mission schools in that city are prospering, yet the best and largest school in the place, having some seven hundred pupils,

has as its foundation-stone opposition to Christianity, and that the older generation and well-to-do classes manifest great hatred toward the new faith. Mr. Ebina says that few can appreciate the amount of scorn felt and expressed toward the Christians by the mass of their fellow-countrymen." Buddhists are endeavoring to cast the stigma of disloyalty on the Christians. But this endeavor to emulate a policy which is too often adopted by Christians against Christians in the West is severely condemned by many Japanese journals.

The scandalous and slanderous attacks of Mr. E. H. House upon the missionaries of Japan, in his story of "Yone Santo," are trenchantly dealt with by the "Japan Weekly Mail," which neither represents the partisanship of decided Christian belief, on the one hand, nor the inborn malignity of evil towards good on the other. It says: "He claims that he has thoroughly studied the subject for twenty-five years, and that he knows whereof he speaks; we affirm that for twenty-five years he has been strengthening a prejudiced opinion by partial observation, and that his light thereon is darkness, and we have had as good opportunities for judging, and for as long a time. The mass he depicts as rotten, with a rare individual fit to live; whereas, on the contrary, the bulk of the missionaries in Japan are intelligent, fairly well educated, some of them eminently so, as a whole doing indisputably good, moral, and elevating work for this people, though a rare individual may be open to a portion of Mr. House's terrific censures. The government and intelligent people of Japan recognize and appreciate the good which our author persistently ignores. The ladies' societies and schools have done more for the womanhood of Japan than any other force, and are more trusted and sought after by the Japanese authorities and people than any other elevating agency. The attitudes ascribed to representative missionary ladies in the story are simply impossible; the conversations on religious subjects have an utter woodenness that shows our author floundering out of his depths; they are absurdly untrue to life. The charges of bad food and unsanitary condition in the schools, and consequent attacks of cholera, are false. . . . A practical refutation of the slander against these schools is that, though with the years they have rapidly increased both in size and number, they are crowded with students, and almost every town of any size in the empire seems anxious to have one established within reach of its daughters."

The following communication of Mr. Pettie, of Okayama, is interesting and characteristic in various directions:—

"I have just put in nine days of most interesting touring work, visiting seven places, most of them lying along the Inland Sea at one of its most charming points, owing to the large number of islands, the indentations of the coast, and the snow-capped mountains of Shikoku in the distance. My helpers visited place number eight, a hill-town in the interior, which lay outside the limits of my traveling pass.

"There were fourteen baptisms, including two children, in connection with two communion services, four theatre meetings, eleven other formal services, several delightful bits of personal work, and on the last night a grand disturbance which reminded one of old times, and which we fondly hoped was entirely a thing of the past, at least in this part of Japan. A few ardent Shintoists interrupted Pastor Abe while speaking, and though they quieted down at his request, they broke out again, as soon as the meeting closed, in angry abuse of Christianity, and heated debate among themselves.

"At last the leaders were induced to go with us to our hotel, where a long and fiery discussion took place. Meanwhile a large crowd gathered outside and put in a superabundance of punctuation marks. At a little past twelve o'clock the landlord requested the men to depart, that his other guests might be able to sleep. We appointed another interview the next, or more truly that same morning at eight. Two men came and we talked until nine o'clock, when we started for home. The noisiest disputant proved to be an old pupil of Captain Jaynes at Kumamoto; was well acquainted with our leading pastors, and knew just enough of Christianity and English to abuse the former and make a show of the latter. The crowd was divided in sentiment, some even shouting out, 'The Shintoists are a noisy, unreasonable set.'"

Inasmuch as an ethics fully worthy of the name can only rest on one foundation, it is no wonder that the Secularizers, whether in America or in Japan, are greatly perplexed over the public schools. It is no part of a Christian's business, in either country, to daub their wall with the untempered mortar of a cowardly complaisance. Dr. Gordon, of Kyoto, writes: "In an earnest conversation on the subject of moral education, a man high in authority in one of the first schools of Japan said to me: 'You at the Doshisha have Christianity for a basis, and so all is plain before you; we are not so fortunate.'"

"In many respects Japan is one of the most inviting mission fields in the world. In many respects it is the most difficult. It is no place for one who loves intellectual ease, or who is afraid of criticism, or who has no reason to give for any article of faith that is in him."

Mr. Albrecht writes in the "Herald," respecting the Doshisha: "To see thirty-six young men go out into Japanese life, all Christians, with a single exception; to see their chapel full of officials, professional men, merchants, men of every walk of life, all interested in and sympathizing with the work of the school, and then to think that all this has been accomplished in about fifteen years, makes one say over and over, 'The Lord hath done great things for them; 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.'"

The statistics of the Japanese Mission of the American Board for the year ending April 30, 1889, showed that eight churches had been organized during the year, making the whole number 49. These had received 2,129 persons on confession of faith, an average of over 43 persons to each church. The 4,569 Congregational churches of the United States are reported as averaging during 1888 an addition of five and a half members to each church; but of the whole number, only sixty-three equaled the Japanese average.

The "Missionary Herald" for October, 1889, refers to a report given by the "Christian Register," of September 5, of an interview between the officers of the American Unitarian Association and Mr. Kaneko, who is spoken of as secretary of the Privy Council, and a man of much culture and influence. Being a graduate of Harvard, he declares that his intimate association with Unitarian divines has made him well acquainted with the nature and excellences of Unitarianism. He allows that he holds Buddhism to be far superior to Christianity, but he declares that he believes Unitarianism to be identical with Buddhism in its highest form. He is therefore, since the native forces of Japanese Buddhism appear to be exhausted, solicitous that Unitarianism should come to its relief, against the invading forces of Christianity. He prom-

ises it an enthusiastic reception among the higher classes of Japan. He sharply complains that the Christian missionaries in Japan keep always in view the saving of sinners, and he apparently wants the Unitarians to come and help put a stop to any such nonsense. The "Christian Register," the "Missionary Herald" remarks, expresses no dissent from this view of the community of interests between Buddhism and Unitarianism against Christianity as the common foe.

Mr. Knapp, the one missionary whom the forces of Unitarian wealth and culture have thus far been able to summon up, appears, however, to have taken a course which renders it doubtful whether any such alliance, even if desired by the branch of Unitarianism which he represents, can be effected. The "Missionary Review of the World" for January, 1891, cites from the "Japan Mail" a criticism of Mr. Takahashi Goro upon Mr. Knapp's attitude towards Buddhism, which he describes as being that of one who flatters, prays, and solicits its favor, and who is willing to join with it in driving out Orthodox Christianity. Yet, according to Mr. Takahashi's own showing, the only positive doctrine of Buddhism which Mr. Knapp accepts is, that creation is not an event, but an eternal process. This would be entirely satisfactory to Buddhism, if it implied, as it does with Buddhism, that there is no such thing as creation, or a Creator. Yet Mr. Takahashi, while conceding that Mr. Knapp, out of deference to Buddhism, is willing to conceal as much as possible his belief in God, maintains that expressions escape him plainly implying that he does believe in God after all. On this rock, it should seem, all hopes of a permanent alliance must split. An offensive alliance, indeed, between Buddhism and Unitarianism for the overthrow of Orthodox Christianity, may be proposed, and according to Mr. Takahashi has been proposed, by Mr. Knapp. But this gentleman seems to be rather maladroit in putting Buddhism and Orthodox Christianity together as pessimistic religions, over against both which stands Unitarianism, in the serene light of perfect culture, as an optimistic religion, though optimistic in exactly what sense is not explained. Nor is it explained in what sense Mr. Knapp describes as pessimistic a religion which rests upon the message that God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that *whosoever* believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life. If an effective alliance is to be achieved between the Japanese and the American foes of the growing Christianity of Japan, it must be brought about by an ambassador — as Mr. Knapp calls himself — who is himself less hampered with the remains of Christian belief. Meanwhile Christianity goes cheerily and vigorously on in the Island Realm, apparently very little embarrassed with the weight of this new fly on the wheel.

Dr. N. G. Clark, Senior Secretary of the American Board, in his report rendered at the meeting of the Board in 1889, calls attention to the fact that the remarkable readiness of the Japanese Christians to meet their own expenses is not only due to the fact that they are largely of the classes well able to do this, but also in part to "the example of the Osaka churches, early led to take high ground on this subject through the painstaking instruction of missionaries of the Board in that city, and of a self-denying pastor." Dr. Clark also does well to dwell significantly on the fact that "speculations of the schools" have not counted for much in Japan. And, indeed, it is true that in Japan the elder and the newer forms of Orthodoxy have not made it their business to bite and devour

one another. Whoever was recognized as living in Christ as his centre has been welcomed as a brother and helper. Even the German missionary of the *Protestantenverein*, irreconcilably divergent as his theology is from that of the other missionaries, yet, being recognized as thoroughly Christian in spirit and intent, has been received with cordial appreciation, which he cordially reciprocates. And if the Christian Unitarians of America will send a man like him, who esteems the Trinitarians, not as enemies to be exterminated, but as brethren to be helped, he will undoubtedly meet with a like reception.

"But, with all the success achieved, the work in Japan is really but fairly begun. We forget that it has a population as large as was to be found in the United States east of the Mississippi at the census of 1880, and that there is still but one minister of the gospel, missionary or Japanese, to every 125,000 of its 35,000,000 or 38,000,000. In consequence of the breaking down of old faiths and the awakened intelligence of the people, the calls come to us for Christian instruction from thousands and tens of thousands in all parts of the land, — instant, urgent, in a manner altogether without precedent in the history of missions. The outlook for the next ten years is far more hopeful than that of the last decade. While we wait to improve the great opportunity, the enemy is sowing tares. Japan can be won to Christ only by the most vigorous enlargement and most persistent effort." For the sake of Japan, therefore, as well as of other regions, it is devoutly to be hoped that Minneapolis will be found to have redressed the calamitous misadventures of Des Moines and Springfield.

The "Herald" remarks on the violent disturbances of nature which have been lately experienced in Japan, the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, to which may be added the floods. At Kumamoto, after repeated shocks, there occurred one of great severity, felt in the dead of night. "Coming as it did immediately after an official notification that it was the opinion of a seismologist that in case of another severe shock an outbreak might be expected which might destroy the city, nothing could be expected but the panic that actually seized the poor people. For two nights and nearly two days the people fled like frightened sheep. They ran through the streets in the dead of night, crying aloud and calling on Buddha to help them, repeating times without number their single vain prayer, *Namu Amida Butsu, Namu Amida Butsu*. Parents lost their children, and children their parents; the sick were abandoned in their houses, and the lame and blind were left to care for themselves. What a scene that was, continued for nearly forty-eight hours, with the panic and terror kept at fever heat by the frequent shocks and detonations of the rending rocks, warning the people to flee from the city of destruction!"

"But this time of terror was just the time for the Christians to manifest the superiority of their faith, and they rose nobly to the emergency. Taking counsel together, they went to the city officials and offered to turn our two school buildings into hospitals. Their offer was eagerly accepted, and the officials promised to furnish the medicines and physicians needed. They also consulted together about other measures to be taken for the safety of the city and people. The coolness and wisdom of our Christian leaders inspired the officials with confidence, who then went about their work with coolness. The result was soon seen throughout the city: the panic began to subside; the sick, the lame, the blind, and the home-

less were soon provided for; a few days later, confidence was quite restored, stores were open, and the people had largely returned to their customary work."

It is to be hoped that these visitations of Him who, through whatever processes He may work, disposes everything in time and measure for the highest ends, will set the people of Japan, as once the people of the Roman world, to inquiring more earnestly after that kingdom which cannot be shaken.

The following description, from the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," of the city of Tokushima, on the island of Shikoku, in Southern Japan, gives a pleasantly vivid picture to the mind's eye. Tokushima has a population of 60,000, and has lately become a station of the Church Missionary Society. It is a happy thing for Christian unity in Japan that, of the two great Anglican societies, it is that one which is supported by the evangelicals that works in Japan, and not the somewhat arrogant and encroaching Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Anglican brethren, it is true, are beginning, through Episcopal lips in England, to express their belief that they are yet to be the leading Christian community of Japan. But such a comfortable persuasion may be cheerfully conceded to any society, so long as it is held so amiably and fraternally as by the English brethren in Japan. Whether there will, within any assignable period, be a unitary Protestant Church of Japan, and, if there is, what its form and polity will be, he would be a wise man who should undertake to determine. But, as a Japanese Christian has said, the only thing of which a description, as events are proceeding in Japan, will hold good for ten years, is its exquisite scenery.

"The south side of the city is the most beautiful. I mean the view from the hills that side. There is another plain made by three or four rivers which here flow into the sea; five valleys run down into this plain each one between steep and high hills. Looking inland, you can see five ranges of hills, each rising above the other; the most distant must be very high. This plain also is studded with villages and covered with rice. Eastward is the sea, — a very lovely sea view it is. There are islands close by, and the mainland of Japan just visible in the far distance. On the east side of the city there is a hill rising abruptly out of the plain, and to the south some more hills, somewhat similar in character. As to the city itself, it is built just around the foot of the great hills from which we have been viewing the scene. The streets are narrow and straight; the houses, of the usual Japanese style, — tiled roofs, no chimneys, no smoke; trees and shrubs in the gardens, giving the city a clean and fresh appearance. Parts of the rivers and canals intersect the town, necessitating many bridges." Add the brilliant sun of Japan, the glossy beauty of the foliage, and the graceful curvatures of the coast line, framing in the tender green of the rice-fields, and we see that Japan has attractions for various ranges of our being.

The "Intelligencer" for June, 1880, speaking of the promulgation of the Constitution, says: "The day was a grand one in Tokio, and all over the country, — according to native newspapers, the grandest day Japan has ever seen. It would take a long time to give any adequate idea of the impressive ceremony at the palace, where the Emperor, in the presence of the Empress, princes, princesses, noblemen, cabinet ministers, the Foreign Diplomatic Corps, and other officials, Japanese and foreign, and last but not least, several editors of leading Japanese journals, delivered

a speech, and formally handed the draft of the Constitution to the Prime Minister, Count Kuroda; or of the royal procession through the streets, the Empress riding with the Emperor in the same carriage, — a thing unheard of before; the splendid state carriages, specially built in Europe; the gorgeous liveries; the crowds of orderly, merry people, dressed in their best, lining the route; the processions of schools, large and small; the wonderful decorations; monster ornamental cars drawn by strings of oxen, and towering above the heads of the people; triumphal arches, lit up at night with scores of electric lights, flags, and lanterns innumerable. The people all through the country have been raised to an extraordinary pitch of enthusiasm over the promulgation of this new Constitution. They feel that Japan now, more than ever, stands foremost in the matter of civilization amongst the nations of the East, — the only kingdom in Asia that possesses a constitutional government, the only one that enjoys perfect religious liberty." It remains to be seen whether all this fair show is a Jonah's gourd or an oak.

The baptisms of adult converts by C. M. S. missionaries in 1888-89 were 367, a much larger number than in any previous year.

The remarks quoted in our former article, as to the probable overflowing of Christian influence from Japan upon China, are in line with "A Forecast concerning Japan," published in the "Intelligencer" for August, 1889, by Mr. E. W. Syll. It says: "When the present writer was leaving China to sojourn for a season in Japan, one of his intelligent friends in the diplomatic circle said, as they shook hands for farewell, 'I congratulate you on going to Japan, especially for this reason — that China will learn from Japan as she will not from any Western nation. They are neighboring countries, and both Eastern, which helps to remove sensitiveness and jealousy.' And so it has proved already; the material improvements which Japan was first to adopt, — railroads, telegraph, postal service, coinage, — all these China is beginning to admit, following the example of its more rapid and progressive neighbor, through whose diplomatic adroitness (let it be added) the audience question at Pekin was brought to a settlement, and the suzerainty of Formosa retrieved from uncertainty.

"The theory of the Japanese monarchy is that of absolute personal rule, and this was recognized and intensified when, after the conflict which brought the usurped power of the Shoguns to an end, and re-established the direct rule of the Mikado, the great Daimios, one after another, came forward and laid down their titles, offices, territories, and semi-independent jurisdiction, at the feet of their Emperor — an event unique in history, and one of the peculiar performances with which the Japanese enliven the routine of revolutionary politics. They shine on an emergency, and furnish us with repeated surprises."

The author remarks of the new Constitution, that it has not been, like Magna Charta, "extorted by barons from a reluctant tyrant who had made himself a vassal of Rome, but given freely and graciously by the one hundred and twenty-third monarch of a dynasty that dates back (traditionally) to 660 B. C. Such a document is surely a 'sign of the times,' and all the more interesting to us because of the distinctly Teutonic style of its provisions. If, as one of our historians has said, 'freedom came out of a German forest,' and if its march has been, like Bishop Berkeley's 'Course of Empire,' *westward*, then we may say that Japan has been reached by the rays of that same beacon-light of human liberty which has now crossed the Pacific, as previously it had traversed the Atlantic.

"The ceremonial at the Promulgation," says this writer, who appears to have witnessed it, "was brief, simple, and dignified, as Japanese ceremonials generally are; and the appearance of the Empress on the dais and in the open carriage, along with the Mikado himself, was a graceful and noteworthy innovation. As to the people, they appear to have been almost beside themselves with exultation; the general rejoicing was only overshadowed by one most distressful and most significant event, — Viscount Arinori Mori's diabolical assassination on the very morning of the Promulgation."

The writer then goes on to consider the probable effects of the Promulgation in that respect which we must account as of the deepest moment. "The question is, how far the Mikado's example, and the wording of his oath and of his speech, may affect the minds of his subjects as regards their acceptance of, we will not say Christianity, but of even the simplest form of Theism.

"The 'Imperial Oath at the Sanctuary of the Imperial Palace' says at the commencement: 'We do solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of our House, and to the other Imperial Ancestors,' so and so; and at the conclusion, 'We now reverently make our prayer to them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of their Sacred Spirits, and make to them solemn oath never at this time or in the future to fail to be an example to Our Subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established. May the Heavenly Spirits witness Our solemn oath!' In this and in the accompanying speech it is to the Imperial Ancestors that appeal is made, though what may be indicated by the 'Heavenly Spirits' remains to be elucidated. Plainly there is not (as a friendly critic writing from China remarks) any recognition of what an Emperor of China, in his worship, would surely express; namely, a Supreme Power, designated by the term *T'ien*, heaven, concerning the force of which term, however, there has been much learned discussion by sinologues of all classes, native and foreign.

"Now if this same reticence as to a Sovereign Deity characterizes the national anthem (of which we regret not having the words), it will be a very serious matter to have it learned and sung by the multitude, and by the tens of thousands of school children, whose participation in the celebration was one of its most marked features, not only in Tokio itself, but in all the places where the occasion was availed of to express the universal joy and sympathy of the people with the government.

"One other consideration should not be overlooked. The first generation of Japanese Christians will very properly be studiously anxious to demonstrate that their loyalty is not weakened by their religion, it being still under suspicion by reason of the early efforts to subjugate their land and its rulers to Papal authority. This will *predispose them to accept all they possibly can* of the existing state religion, and to blend, in their thoughts, such passages as Zech. vi. 5, Hebrews xii. 23, and Rev. iii. 1, with the 'Heavenly Spirits' of the Mikado's adoration.

"The result of this process will, in all human probability, be the same as has been found to take place in all cases where the gospel message is brought to a people who have had their thoughts on religion (and have brought them into a system or systems) worked up with their philosophies, and cosmogonies, and mythologies, — as much of the *old* will be retained as is not felt to be absolutely incompatible with the *new*. . . .

"Much more might be said of the very peculiar condition of affairs in

Japan at the present time; and the lesson we might read, again and again, would be to do with our might what our hand findeth to do now for the evangelizing of the Japanese. They are a versatile people, having Athenian or Galatian characteristics, — always longing to hear some new thing, and apt to be changeable. At the same time they resemble the Bereans, in that they search and see and examine the Scriptures, 'whether these things are so,' which is a great ground for hopefulness. Indeed, while it is plain there are many adversaries, as in the Apostolic days, and while we know beforehand (as the spirit speaketh expressly) that evil men and seducers shall arise, yet these things may not affright and should not discourage us. Beyond question, a 'great door and effectual' has been opened, and many have entered, and more are still entering into the fold of our Good Shepherd, — whereat we rejoice and give thanks abundantly."

At Fukuoka, in the great southern island of Kiushiu, on the day of the Promulgation, the three little groups of American Congregationalists and Methodists and English Episcopalians, "to the number of about seventy, assembled to pray for the divine blessing on this important national event. Such unanimity of feeling is very refreshing. May it long prevail," says the Rev. A. B. Hutchinson, of the English Church Mission.

"Our people," says Mr. Hutchinson, "are much taken up with the approaching Synod. I must confess that I look with a somewhat jealous eye upon the increasing tendency to be occupied in the organizing of church machinery, rather than upon questions of life and godliness, which marks the Japanese character. Nothing delights these people so much as discussion on by-laws and regulations, however trivial. I was grieved to find one of our new converts from Cita, who called on me the other day, so full of the defects of our Church Council system, and general mode of working, that he had determined to leave us for a freer communion; yet he had only recently been baptized, and was not yet confirmed. After a long interview he promised to reconsider his position. This love of amending and improving every matter brought before their minds extends to all classes in this country. The exact carrying out of instructions is very rarely to be met with, either among employees or pupils." In this they seem to be remarkably like the Irish, as Irish foremen have been described by mill-managers. There is not enough of stolidity in either national character to give the requisite amount of gravitation. In this they are the exact reverse of the ludicrously imitative faithfulness of the Chinese.

Mr. Hutchinson describes, not without amusement in the contrast with England, an Episcopal visitation on which he attended the Bishop. "I have long since dispensed with a servant on such journeys, not only for economy's sake, but for sake of simplicity of life, and to get at the people better. The Christians like the opportunity of doing little services for their teacher, and there is no affectation of dignity to keep the heathen at a distance. The Bishop gladly assented to the proposal to go without a cook, but not, I fancy, without apprehension. I often wished we could have been seen at our meals in a roadside inn by those who are accustomed to associate the idea of palaces with bishops. Let me describe our way of proceeding. It is perhaps one o'clock, and the men have longed to stop ever since twelve, and gladly now do they race up to a well-known native hotel. We are at once (shoes off) ushered into

the best vacant apartment, the sliding-screens are closed, civilities exchanged with the host, and speedily the little box of charcoal is set before us with a steaming kettle resting on a tripod over it. Another small circular fireplace like a flower-pot, full of glowing charcoal, is set before us on a slab of wood to prevent sparks from falling on the mats. Meanwhile I have unfastened the luncheon basket, set out cups, and, calling for eggs, soon have an omelette ready, having meanwhile taken a cup of Liebig's beef tea. Coffee or cocoa follow, from the essence or powder, or a teapot may be borrowed and a cup of tea be ready in quick time, whilst some rice and marmalade concludes the meal. The ready maid-servant washes the plates and other necessities of civilized life, and in thirty or forty minutes from the time we stopped we are off again, the men having also had their dinner and whiff of tobacco from their tiny pipes. We pay for the clean room, so private and restful, and all the attention given us, from 6*d.* to 8*d.*, according to the style of the hotel visited. But if we have to spend the night on the road, about 1*s.* 3*d.* each is expected as reasonable remuneration."

At Oyamada they used the catechist's house as a church. "The gate-posts were clothed with verdure, and on the arch above was 'Welcome' in English, cleverly done in golden millet on a ground of black seeds. The door-posts of the house were a mass of evergreen, and over the lintel was a cross of seeds on a ground of daphne blossoms, bordered by pink camellias. There were seventy-five candidates here for confirmation, and as it was difficult in many cases for a whole family to be away together, the Bishop confirmed thirty-eight men in the evening, and next morning thirty-six women and one man. After a short pause, to enable as many as possible to assemble, we administered the Lord's Supper to seventy-six communicants. It was a quiet, impressive, and suggestive service, which filled the heart with thankful joy. The offertory was given to the Native Mission Fund. Here was a band of believers, who, sixteen months since, when the Bishop was last with us, were heathen, now reverently and heartily obeying the Lord's command, and seeking to help extend 'the wonderful words of life' to their fellow-countrymen. 'What hath God wrought!' Trials, vexations, misunderstandings, all vanish in the presence of such unmistakable proofs of the divine blessing resting on our work. In the afternoon we ascended the hillside to the crumbling and decaying Shinto shrine, whence we could see the valley spreading out for miles dotted over with villages, to several of which the catechist has already found access with the message of salvation."

In our missionary circumnavigations of the globe, not desiring to cause our readers tedious detentions, we have given no more than two articles at most to any one country. But in view of the peculiar interest which Japan is engaging, we propose devoting to it a third, giving account of the year 1890. Of the reports from this rapidly progressive and somewhat variable people it may be said:—

"That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker;
Each minute teems a new one."

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, Considered with some Reference to its Origins. By JOHN FISKE.

Αίσσομαι, καὶ Ζηὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
Ἰμέραν εὐρυθενὲς ἀμφιπόλεις, Σώτειρα Τύχα·
τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόσῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαὶ
ναῖες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαίψηροὶ πόλεμοι
καγόροι βουλαφόροι.

PINDAR, *Olymp.* xii.

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great! . . .
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, — are all with thee!

LONGFELLOW.

Pp. xxx, 360. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

This book is intensely satisfactory. In it Mr. Fiske has really outdone himself. The genetic method of study has never been applied more happily. The little book is packed full of the present facts of our political system, which will be found most easily retainable in the memory because they are so lucidly followed down from their very beginnings in history to their present expanded forms among us. The book illustrates fully what Mr. Freeman says, that in America we see an ancient race settled upon a modern soil, and accommodating its ancient institutions to new conditions. This apprehension, once thoroughly rooted in our minds, will correct at once our false independence and our false dependence. We have never lost the continuity of our race, or of our institutions, and therefore have a perfect right to trace our history back to the first landing of the Holsteiners or Jutlanders in 449 on the isle of Thanet. Our history, therefore, is not a derivative of English history, but a divarication of it, so that the study of the latter is not a luxury to us, but a necessity. It is absurd, therefore, to talk of our having *copied* English institutions, for even those of which, like the Senate, this is immediately true, were in our blood. But this book gives the substructure of government first, and in this is its peculiar charm. Mr. Fiske treats with becoming scorn the shallow suggestion, that local government is a less worthy study than sovereign government. As he remarks, Science distinguishes between large and small, but not between grand and petty. Gravitation may be learned from an apple, the nature of lightning from a kite and key, and the force of vapor from a tea-kettle. "It was not for nothing," says Mr. Fiske, "that our profoundest political thinker, Thomas Jefferson, attached so much importance to the study of the township." This is good doctrine for New England, certainly, where the Town Meeting and the Congregational Church have been so deeply formative. Mr. Fiske shows the Township in its earliest congelation, first on the German and then on the British side of the North Sea, as "a stationary clan." He shows this, when at last subjugated to the Norman lords, becoming the *manor*, ecclesiastically the parish, but gradually reasserting itself, even in England, as the Township. To some extent, at least, the distinction is made. He remarks that if age gives respectability, the office of Constable may vie with that of King. It is worth noting that in Scotland, as sometimes in early England, "town," "inclosure," meant simply Farmstead. Few of us knew that "By-laws" properly means "Town-laws," extended, by a false etymology, to secondary laws of any kind.

The author next treats of the County, and remarks that the convenience of this subdivision is not the cause of it. As the Township is the stationary Clan, so the original County is the stationary Tribe. For three hundred years after England had one king, the counties remained virtually distinct, though subordinate, states. The shiremate was the primitive local parliament, in which the English became schooled for the greater one. Turning to this country, Mr. Fiske gives most instructive details as to how the New England system, in which the Township, and the Virginian system, in which the County, is the political unit have, in the West, commingled, with varying results, according to relative preponderance, but with a distinct tendency of the Township towards gaining strength, though nowhere does it have the specific and highly educating force of the New England Town. Mr. Fiske describes at length the "government townships," with the meaning of *principal meridian*, and *base line*, and *range line*, and *township line*, and remarks on the salutary result of the reservation of the central sections of the government townships for school purposes, not only in advancing education, but in furnishing a nucleus of crystallization for a vigorous township life.

The author describes the original Borough as an aggregation of several townships, rising in number, dignity, and complexity, until, in London, it became a little world, is indeed, as Mr. Hamerton calls it, virtually a nation within a nation. But our first cities, the author remarks, copied, not the noble traditions of London, but the ignoble traditions of the oligarchies into which, under the Stuarts, the lesser boroughs had declined. This is one reason why our cities are so much less satisfactory than the rest of our system. Mr. Fiske highly approves the late extension of the Mayor's powers, and the unicameral common council. He especially commends Brooklyn as the model, and points out the encouraging fact that, since the great reform, more people vote there for mayor than for governor or president. He remarks that in the cities, though the unpropertied classes have often been lavish, it has been the property holders, at least in Pennsylvania, that have been the most reckless in running up corporation debts. He points out, also, that in England the mighty London, whose affairs had never been mixed up with parliamentary scrambles, was in 1835 alone found worthy to retain its ancient franchises — a lesson for our cities to lay to heart.

The author calls attention to the fact that in England City merely means a Borough, which is the seat of a bishop. Mr. Bryce remarks, however, that Westminster is a city, though it never had a bishop. He has overlooked the fact that when Henry VIII. suppressed the great Abbey of Westminster, he turned the Abbey church into a cathedral, although when its one bishop, Thirlby, died, after a ten years' episcopate, the new diocese was reincorporated with London, leaving, however, to the Abbey church cathedral rank, and independence of episcopal control, and to its Dean the precedence which his bishop had had, so that in his own church he outranks the Archbishop of York, and only yields precedence to the primate of his own province. It is probably this brief episcopate, and the abiding rank of the Abbey, that secured to Westminster the name of a city.

The part of the book which treats of the State and the Nation is more familiar than the other, though it partakes of its freshness and charm. The whole is well arranged for school use, and has at the end an extended Bibliographical note, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitu-

tion, Magna Charta, and the most important part of the Bill of Rights sanctioned by William and Mary, and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, of 1639, "the first written constitution that created a government."

It is a matter of religious thankfulness, that the civic sense of our youth, male and female, no longer left to the neglect of chance, is coming to have such magnificent nourishment as this.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

THE MONUMENTS OF UPPER EGYPT. A translation of the "*Itinéraire de la haute Égypte*" of AUGUSTE MARIETTE BEY, by ALPHONSE MARIETTE. Revised, with Notes and Additions, by LYSANDER DICKERMAN. 12mo, pp. 335. Boston : J. H. Mansfield & J. W. Dearborn. 1890.

Whoever knows the charming French original will be grateful to the sympathetic translator and accomplished reviser. Mr. Dickerman is a devoted student of Egyptology. His illustrated "*Lectures on the Ancient Egyptians*" have excited a lively interest among the masses, no less than among connoisseurs. It was a happy thought to enrich this guide with his apt and instructive annotations. A useful list of books for reference is not the least of its merits. Mr. Dickerman has also prepared an Appendix of some forty pages, furnishing the traveler with all needed information respecting the progress of Egyptian discovery since Mariette's death in 1881.

It is enough to note the contents of this compact and helpful sketch to discern its value. The pyramids of Pepi, Ounas, and Teta, with their famous incantations; the royal mummies of Dér-el-Bahari; Pithom with its storehouses, San-Tanis with its colossi; the Biblical Tahpanes where the prophet Jeremiah and the princesses of the house of Judah tarried in their flight after the destruction of Jerusalem; Bubastis, seat of the great popular festival at the temple Herodotus admired more than twenty centuries ago; the Fayoum of the wondrous labyrinth and lake, revealed by Petrie; Hawara with its Roman portraits, so bold yet so delicate; Ilahun with its alphabet a millennium before the Moabite stone; Tel-el-Amarna and its tablets containing an animated cuneiform correspondence between the king of Mesopotamia and his brother and son-in-law the king of Egypt, Thi's husband, and Chu-en-aten's father, — each and all pass before the reader under the spell of Mr. Dickerman's winsome zeal and practiced pen.

At the end of the first syllable, Stuttgart on page 15 has but one *t*, Archéologie at the foot of page 16 is spelled with an extra *a*, the G in Mr. Tompkins' middle name at the foot of page 17 has become an *E*, and at the top of page 18 *Découvertes modernes* has been robbed of its two rightful feminine *es*. No doubt, also, the same printer meant to have set up Daphnai instead of Daphine on page 310, and Kasr el bint el Yahudi instead of hint, on page 313.

John Phelps Taylor.

LIFE OF DOROTHEA LYNDE DIX. By FRANCIS TIFFANY. Pp. xiii, 392. \$1.50. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who assisted Miss Dix in her charitable intents in Constantinople, well says, in the "*Christian Mirror*," that it is long since

a biography of such value has appeared. The noble austerity of character in the subject is presented with a dignified simplicity fully worthy of it. The name of Dorothea Dix had long been familiar, as that of an eminent philanthropist, but assuredly the world had little apprehension of the grandeur of her character, and the grandeur of her achievements, until now that the facts of her life are thus compactly presented.

Miss Dix had a terrible but beneficent training for a terrible but beneficent work. The simple record of what she had to pass through in the mission of her life is more than most men would care to read twice. And she was a woman in the most distinctive sense. The strength of her domestic affections and her richness of sentiment seem to have answered to the compass of her large nature, without losing anything of their feminine proportions, and assuredly without ever losing anything of their feminine delicacy. In the shrinking from publicity, Miss Dix remained as complete a woman as any mother of a family. The intense affections which were to be poured out upon the prisoners and lunatics of the world were held within this channel by an early disappointment, preceded by an austerity of domestic training so appalling in its repression of every sign of affection, that it is no great wonder if afterwards she was appalled by nothing.

Had Miss Dix become the mother of a family, she would still, like Elizabeth Fry, have done a great deal of her later work, for, as Mr. Tiffany remarks, "The sense of pitiful compassion for the ignorant, degraded, and suffering, was the strongest element in her being." But remaining single, she had full time, in her long life of eighty-five years, for giving herself up to her specific vocation, after having through a number of years gained eminent note as a teacher, having provided that her younger brothers should be well prepared for making their way in life, and having secured a competency for herself. Her intimacy with Dr. Channing, whom, with his family, she accompanied on a delightful visit to the West Indies, was a lasting exaltation and enrichment of her life, and reinforcement of its purpose. These resting-places in her life she enjoyed to the full, especially the long refreshment of her residence in the family of a wealthy Unitarian merchant of Liverpool, Mr. William Rathbone, in whose house she seemed to find much of what she had so cruelly missed in youth. Like the Saviour, she now and then made a stay in the homes of the rich, that she might gather strength for a life dedicated to the poor.

The biographer prefaces the account of her life-long work by two deeply instructive chapters on the three successive theories of insanity: First, that it is a possession of Satan; second, that it is an outbreak of the worst elements of the human personality; third, that it is the obscuration of the essential human reason by the reaction against it of physical disorder. Has the second theory been antiquated by the third, or only filled out by it? At all events, the emergence of the third could not but work a profound change of methods. Mr. Tiffany makes us acquainted with those two heroes of humanity, Dr. Pinel, of France, and Dr. William Tuke, of England, as well as with Doctors Hill, Charlesworth, and Conolly. On the foundation of what they had done, it was appointed Dorothy Dix to revolutionize the treatment of the insane, and of the imbecile, in our country, and in Scotland, besides what she accomplished in the Channel Islands, in Rome, and even in Constantinople.

The eighth chapter presents her "Descent into Inferno," which for

her was found in the East Cambridge jail, where "Miss Dix was first brought into immediate contact with the overcrowding, the filth, and the herding together of innocent, guilty, and insane persons, which at that time characterized the prisons of Massachusetts, and the inevitable evils of which were repeated in even worse shape in the almshouses." She did not then know whether East Cambridge was an exception, or an example. This was the question she set about answering. "Note-book in hand, she started out on her voyage of exploration, visiting every jail and almshouse from Berkshire on the west to Cape Cod on the east. Steadily accumulating her statistics of outrage and misery, she at last got together a mass of eye-witness testimony appalling in extent and detail. With this she now determined to memorialize the Legislature of Massachusetts." One shriek of anger from incriminated towns and functionaries and their friends went up throughout the State. "Very soon, however, was it to become clear to intelligent men and women that they were now called upon to deal with one who was at the last remove from a sensationalist; with one, on the contrary, endowed not merely with a sensitive heart, but with a statesmanlike grasp of mind." Happily, "the courage and indomitable humanity" of Dr. S. G. Howe, then in the Legislature, were at her command, and Massachusetts, impelled by her, had the honor of giving the first impulse to a series of legislative victories, "to follow in such numbers through the length and breadth of the United States that their repetition year by year, the enormous sums of money they involved, the magnitude of the structures they led to the building of, the range of the field they opened out to advancing medical science, and the vast number of poor wretches transferred from stalls and chains to a comparative heaven of asylum comfort, fairly startle the imagination."

We cannot well do justice to the condensed energy of statement into which the biographer has rendered the condensed energy of her life. But we give some sentences. "To this day the oldest living friends of Miss Dix never weary of speaking of the wonderful quality of her voice. It was sweet, rich, and low, perfect in enunciation, and its very tone pervaded with blended love and power. Quiet but always tasteful in the style of her dress, her rich, wavy, dark brown hair brought down over the cheek and carried back behind the ears, her face lit with alternately soft and brilliant blue-gray eyes, their pupils so large and dilating as to cause them often to be taken for black, a bright, almost hectic glow of color on her cheeks, with her shapely head set on a neck so long, flexible, and graceful as to impart an air of distinction to her carriage — all the accounts which have come down from this period of her career call up a personality preëminently fitted to sway those brought into contact with her in her higher moods of inspiration." "Personally she never cared to appear in public. It was thoroughly distasteful to her to do so. She made no addresses, she gathered no meetings. To come to close quarters of eye, conscience, and heart with impressionable and influential minds, to deliver her burden as from the Lord to them, and let it work on their sensibility and reason, — this was her invariable method." From the time of Catherine of Siena, and earlier, till now, womanhood never seems to have suffered in those that have been led beyond the circle of the home or the cell by the sacred force of faith and love. But Miss Dix seems to have known how to sway the minds of many men to great public ends without ever surrendering even the seclusion which a womanly nature loves.

She began with Massachusetts, but having been casually led once or twice just over its boundaries, there "now first broke upon her the length and breadth of the mission to which she felt herself divinely called. Resolutely and untiringly, State by State, would she take up the work; first exhaustively accumulating the facts and 'preparing the ammunition,' and then investing and besieging the various legislatures, till they should capitulate to the cry of the perishing within their borders. In deliberately planning, as she did thus early in her career, so vast a campaign, was revealed the greatness and compass of her mind. The splendors and audacities of moral genius now flashed out in her. Far more than simply a good and merciful woman was here. Here was a woman with the grasp of intellect, the fertility of resources, and the indomitable force of will that go to the make-up of a great statesman or a great military commander." And this vast plan was thoroughly carried out. She saw that the "wild beast" theory could never be eradicated by palliatives. The States must erect establishments in which the best skill should lay siege to the powers of disease that beset the alienated mind.

Her "first-born child" was the asylum at Trenton, brought forth in sore travail. Moral apathy and the fears of the taxpayers held a hard grip. But before the tact of private and the courage of public appeal apathy and parsimony yielded, and New Jersey gave her the second great impulse which led her for nine years into what her biographer has well entitled "Journeyings often." These years, for their privations and dangers, read like a part of the journal of Asbury, or any other of the Methodist pioneers, as she went through all the South and West (as well as into the British Provinces) at a time when, compared with the present, the means of communication were rudeness and dangerousness itself, and the diet at the country taverns enough to ruin, if not the digestion of an ostrich, almost any digestion short of it. And yet, remarks her biographer, she is another illustration of the saying, that "the work of the world is done by its invalids." The "lesson of wise economy of her strength Miss Dix had now mastered, as far as it ever is mastered by natures consumed by such passion of self-sacrifice." She cut society short, and relieved the overstrain of sympathy with wretchedness by three things, botanical study (in which she was an extraordinary proficient), communion with nature, and, above all, by communion with God.

Every State, remarks Mr. Tiffany, was at this time a fresh citadel, entirely unimpaired by any previous conquests of hers. Every situation had to be studied for itself. But in this way she carried Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, besides a new asylum in Nova Scotia, and one in Newfoundland.

On issues aside from her own she was silent. She had a work given her which set the waves and billows of misery rolling over her head, and she turned not and looked not aside to any other. But what a difference between the silence of cowardice and of hallowed concentration!

The writer gives in all its dramatic force the history of the campaign after campaign for the Twelve Million Acres, the defeat on defeat, the final triumph over both Houses of Congress, and — the final defeat, by the breath of one man, who seems to have thought that he had come to the kingdom for the very end of quelling all attempts to legislate in the interests of mercy. We may well believe of this one "fantastic trick"

of ill-placed authority, that it made the angels weep. It draws from her one of the two expressions of bitter contempt which we remember in the book, the other being called out, while in Europe, by the disgrace brought on the American name by the "vile book" of a noted showman, in which he details his various impostures.

The next chapter gives the episode of Sable Island, in which she saved the 168 souls that made up the passengers and crew of an American ship.

The twenty-first chapter is entitled "The American Invader." Her visit to Scotland, the rapidity with which the foreigner, a woman, remonstrated with by her English friends for undertaking so presumptuous a thing, "made time" against the angry Scotch magistrate who was hurrying to London to anticipate her, and beating him by some two hours, had her reward in a Royal Commission through which, as the younger Dr. Tuke says, the Lunacy Laws of Scotland were revolutionized, reminds one of Browning's account of the chase of the two Piedmontese kings. As Mr. Tiffany says, poetic justice is not always confined to the stage.

Her account of her journey to Italy, with her disgust at the swarming obstructiveness of the priests, and her lasting gratitude to Pius IX. and Antonelli, the two men whom she found bent on helping her, is not one of the least interesting chapters. Mr. Howells says that Cardinal Antonelli had the wickedest face of any man he ever saw. But his "clear-cut intellectual force made a life-long impression" on Miss Dix. He entered warmly into her schemes, and "he was the most enlightened, humane, and merciful man, she insisted, she had found in Rome, a man who spared himself no pains to urge the plea of the wronged and suffering." It was the patriots he hated, not the lunatics. The Pope himself Miss Dix found delightful. She scarcely spoke French, but happily found that he was at home in English. She was asked if she kissed his hand at parting. "Most certainly I did," she replied, "I revered him for his saintliness." And his theology left him fully free to recognize hers.

She visited Constantinople, where she found the Moslem hospitals for the insane immeasurably better than the Christian. The Turks are a kindly race, to the Turks, and they revere lunatics as inspired, instead of detesting them as possessed.

The biographer remarks that Miss Dix's toils in caring for the development of her many children, the asylums, were to the toils of founding them what other anxieties of nurture are to other pains of birth. She never lost sight of them, and was granted many years to watch over them.

Her four years' work in the army achieved grand things, but was, remarks the author, perhaps the least fruitful part of her life. Her powers were past their first freshness, her habits were fixed, and in the early rawness of a people unaccustomed to war it was impossible that methods should meet her ideal, while character and use alike had made her a solitary worker, so that she chafed others, and was chafed by others, in her hospital life. But we are astonished to find that it was she who first learned and made known to President Felton, of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad, the plot to break connection with the North, murder Mr. Lincoln, and seize upon Washington, and who enabled him by his prompt measures to defeat it. She thus saved Abraham Lincoln till his martyrdom should have set the seal upon a completed work.

The later years of her life, from October, 1881, till her death in 1887, were spent in the quiet of the Trenton Asylum. She went, like other mothers, to die in the house of her child. This retirement, remarks Mr. Tiffany, was gladly offered and gladly accepted. She did not actually require it, but found it altogether befitting to receive it. And thus the accumulations of later life, when the habit of saving grows strong, could be reserved to fulfill her last intents of charity. At Trenton, in rooms overlooking a park-like view on the two sides of the Delaware, she exchanged earth for heaven, having, as Mr. Tiffany rightly describes her, in the most eminent sense "proved Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto her life's end."

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

THE ORACLES OF GOD. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. With two Appendices. By W. SANDAY, M. A., D. D., LL. D., Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis; Fellow of Exeter College; Oxford Preacher at Whitehall. London: Longmans, Green & Co., and New York, 15 East 16th Street. 1891.

This is a timely volume. It originated in the desire to give intelligent but non-professional readers a clear idea of the nature and drift of modern Biblical studies, and to show that critical research affords those who revere the Bible no just cause for alarm. The tone of the book is sympathetic and reverent, and its impression thoroughly reassuring.

That such a book should have been written by the Oxford Professor of Exegesis is a happy omen. Publications of this sort, like the work of "University Extension," cannot fail to do much towards silencing the murmurers against the wealthy scholastic establishments of England, as fostering literary idlers or recluses whose pursuits lie in regions remote from men's business and bosoms.

The character of Dr. Sanday's discussion is far less speculative and technical than the phrase "on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration" in the alternate title will be likely to suggest to a New England reader. It is an exposition of the truths that God's self-revelation as recorded in the Scriptures has been gradual and varied, adapting itself to changing conditions; that there is a human element in the Bible as well as a divine, and that this human element is larger than might have been expected beforehand; that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two, their union being organic rather than mechanical; that the more punctilious and discriminating study of recent times, with its multiplied helps, has afforded proof that the Bible as a literary product shares the nature and experience of other literary productions; yet that this study ministers to a more assured because more intelligent faith in inspiration, corroborating the testimony afforded by the experience of successive generations of believers; that the nature of inspiration is best learned from the testimony of the Book itself, which is explicit, unique, conclusive, the Bible becoming thus its own best witness; and that the newer criticism, so far from being "an inclined plane terminating in an abyss," secures to the Book its valid and legitimate rights. These truths, and others, are set forth by Dr. Sanday not argumentatively, but illustratively; with the aim not of presenting new facts, but rather of placing the facts familiar to scholars in their true light before sensible readers.

One lecture is devoted to a candid estimate of the losses and gains already accruing from the change of view respecting the Scriptures; in it the new relations into which the Bible is brought to human life are shown to be already full of promise.

In a discussion touching upon so many departments of learning, it is not to be expected that the author, even with his conspicuous modesty and reserve, has not prompted the reader at some points to question him. One would like to have fuller information, for example, respecting the relation of "inspiration" in the Biblical writers to heathen *μαντεία* on the one hand, and to the common possession of the *πνεῦμα* recognized in the sub-apostolic writers, or even in the apostolic church, on the other. Again, the conception of the theanthropic union in which the author seems disposed to find the explanation of Christ's language relative to the Old Testament books will strike many as rather mechanical, and his rejection of the theory of "accommodation," on the strength of a bad name, as over-curt. But these are matters lying quite beyond the main scope of the book. It would be unlike Professor Sanday, however, not to furnish, even in a popular work, valuable suggestions for professional readers. By such readers the chronological stages which the variant headings of the Psalms seem to imply (as illustrated in Appendix I.) will be found noteworthy.

J. H. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE METHODS OF ETHICS. By HENRY SIDGWICK, Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Fourth Edition. 8vo, pp. 522. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

The fourth edition of this valuable work is an evidence of the appreciation which it has met with at the hands of the philosophic public. Few works of the kind ever receive so much favor. It exactly meets the wants of those students who desire direction in the discussion of "Methods" and theories rather than elementary treatises or even elaborate systems of ethics. This fact partly accounts for the demand which has carried the work through so many editions. But a more important influence has been the supreme value of Professor Sidgwick's discussions. No writer for a century has been so fair and so candid, or so free from philosophic sectarianism. The style is very heavy and compact, and this may be due to the persistent endeavor to avoid the extremes of various schools, and to carry out an analysis that keeps the reader out of the pitfalls laid by theorists. This edition needs no special criticism, as it embodies few changes from the last edition, and these are not important. In Book I., chapter v., § 3, the author makes some additions to meet the criticisms of Mr. Fowler and Dr. Martineau. A part of chapter xii., Book III., has been rewritten to deal with the latest expression of Dr. Martineau's views after the passage at arms between them in "Mind" where Professor Sidgwick had reviewed Dr. Martineau's "Types of Ethical Theory." Chapter xiv., Book III., is expanded to meet objections ably urged by another author, and the concluding chapter altered for a similar reason. The opinions of the author are not modified in any important way by these changes. His discussion of the freedom of the will remains almost exactly the same as before, which was remarkable for the statement that the cumulative argument in favor of Determinism was overwhelming, and that against it was the only and to him conclusive argument drawn

from the immediate testimony of consciousness at the moment of deliberate choice. We could criticise his fundamental assumptions which lead him to admit the force of the argument for Determinism, but cannot take the space to do so. He confesses to the possibility of illusion in regard to the testimony of consciousness in favor of freedom, but we cannot see how he can, after such an admission, accredit it with greater security and strength than those in favor of Determinism. Besides, the cumulative argument for Determinism is purely ratiocinative, and that for Freedomism purely intuitive. It is the former that we have been taught, ever since Aristotle, to believe was peculiarly exposed to fallacy and illusion, a fact which discredits its force very greatly, and then when the testimony of consciousness, upon which ultimately the value of reasoning rests, is impeached, the cumulative argument for Determinism, based on reasoning, is eviscerated of all its certitude. Its fallibility is evinced by the double fact of exposure to the ordinary fallacies and the confessed illusion of consciousness. Had Professor Sidgwick seen that ordinary discussions of this problem mistake the true relation between freedom and responsibility, and that Kant has changed the very conception of it, he would not have fallen into these errors.

J. H. Hyslop.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION. By C. S. LOCH, Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society. 12mo, pp. 106. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.

This little volume consists of a paper which was read before the International Congress of Charities, held in July and August, 1889, and was first published in its report. This was in the French language, however, and in order to make the material more accessible to the general public it was afterward published in English as we now have it, but with some revisions. It is confined to two questions: first, the lesson of the Poor Law, and second, the principles and methods of charity organization. In ordinary circumstances we would not expect it necessary to consider the "Poor Law" on the statute book. But in England, we must remember that all efforts at charity organization and assistance must start from the conditions produced by what is known as the "Poor Law," an enactment that at one time threatened to turn a large portion of the population into beggars. Charity organization in England, therefore, first took the form of modifying the laws on the subject of "the rates for the poor," and afterward devoted itself to the work of help. It seems, then, that, in order to understand the organized efforts in behalf of the poor in England, we are compelled to examine conditions that have not existed in other countries in the same form. This is the reason for the first part of the author's work, and it gives a good lesson on the effects of misdirected sympathies. After this part of the discussion, the problem is the same as in other countries. It is upon general methods of dealing with the poor and the necessity of organization for the best results which shall be accompanied with the least evil incident to so much charity work. It is a very valuable book for students of this practical question, and contains many good hints and suggestions.

J. H. Hyslop.

HOW TO HELP CASES OF DISTRESS. A Handy Reference for Almoners and Others. By C. S. LOCH, Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society. Fourth Edition. 8vo, pp. 208. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

This little volume is the introduction to the complete "Charities' Register and Digest," and is a very useful essay to those who are either interested or engaged in charity work. It covers in all *seventy* different aspects of the question, suggesting the principles and practical rules which should govern in the treatment of all who require assistance in the unequal struggle for existence. We cannot go into details about the book, as it would require too much space to do so adequately. But we can recommend the volume as an indispensable manual to leaders of charity organization, or to all who are seeking to inform themselves in regard to work connected with such efforts. Uneducated sympathy or undirected enthusiasm often issues in increasing the very evils it tries to prevent, and hence if such a book as the present one could be at hand, cautionary advice and suggestions in regard to the real or possible conditions under which sympathy and help may be bestowed can be found respecting every phase of the subject. In fact, no student of practical ethics ought to be without the book. It is published separately from the larger volume of which it forms the introduction, and can be obtained very easily. The "Register and Digest" itself would be very valuable for details in regard to the rules, conditions, material resources, etc., of English charities, but the introduction suffices for general purposes.

J. H. Hyslop.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE. By HIRAM CORSON, LL. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1889.

The title of Professor Corson's book is so signally misleading that it seems proper to correct any misapprehension that may have arisen as to its character. From the title we should not unnaturally conclude that the book was a Shakespearean primer, intended for those who may wish to enter upon the serious study of the poet and his work. The student approaching it with such expectations will look in vain for any information in regard to Shakespeare's life or time, except of an incidental and desultory character; for any hint as to the origin and history of the English drama, or view of its condition when Shakespeare wrote; for any help towards the understanding of Shakespeare's mental growth through the chronological study of his plays; for any grouping of those plays, or idea of his work as a whole. Indeed, it is a brief and accurate description of Professor Corson's book to say that it avoids nearly all those topics of which an Introduction to Shakespeare is justly expected to treat. Professor Corson may very naturally have felt that the well-known works of Dowden, Hudson, Moulton, and others answered the needs of the student in this direction. Nevertheless, the topics treated of by them are essential in any Introduction to Shakespeare, and their omission necessarily makes Professor Corson's book of value to students only as a supplement.

The author's avowed object is to lead the student to study the "plays as plays," that is, primarily from a dramatic point of view. To this end six plays are analyzed, but the eight articles relating to them are wedged in between a quantity of more or less miscellaneous matter. Some of this is valuable, notably the interesting paper on Shakespeare's verse, but

the most of it is out of place. In the earlier part, fifteen pages are given to the authenticity of the first folio, and seven to the Shakespearean-Bacon question, which Professor Corson intimates is one "which does not call for an answer." No less than forty-one pages are devoted to "Jottings on the Text of Hamlet," an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of the first folio readings to those adopted in the Cambridge edition. This is followed by miscellaneous notes of a minute and textual character.

This desultory and rambling character extends beyond the general arrangement, and shows itself in the erratic and inconsequent handling of the separate topics. Often the guide is attracted from the highway, and involves us in a labyrinth of side streets, and blind alleys, from which we return with difficulty. Often again, after not a few digressions, we seem to have arrived at nowhere in particular. We are told in the preface that "no one line is carried to any extent," and the statement is, unfortunately, but too true. To add to the confusion, the style is unequal, involved, and parenthetical, and consequently wanting in the precision and clearness indispensable in a book of this character.

Thus we have such a maze of English as the following:—

"Could we possibly have known more of the *real man*, Shakespeare, more of that *immanent* something, that mystery of personality, 'that innermost of the inmost, most interior of the interne,' as Mrs. Browning designates the mystery of personality, of the hidden soul,—which is projected into and constitutes the soul of the plays,—could we, I say, have possibly known more of this, than we know from his plays, even if he had written for us his own biography, as Alfieri, or St. Augustine, or Goethe, wrote his, or even if he had had a Boswell to record his life as minutely as 'sleek, wheedling James recorded Samuel Johnson's'?" (P. 13.)

On the other hand, the style sinks in places from such tortuous rhapsodies into an undignified colloquialism:—

"Paris observes the etiquette of bereavement. He's a nice young man, *he* is, who would n't neglect any of the conventional proprieties of life for the world." (P. 144.)

A criticism of Dryden's is characterized as "bosh" (p. 272), and one of Swinburne's as "crazy" (p. 274).

In one instance, at least, the English is so careless as to be almost unintelligible:—

"Hamlet is the protagonist of the tragedy; he is in fact the all, the entire play. It is this which gives the meaning to the common saying, expressive of nothing remaining, 'The play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.'" (P. 194.)

This unfortunate carelessness, or whatever it may be called, interferes even with accuracy as well as clearness. Thus we may be sure that so competent a scholar as Professor Corson, with Ajax, Lear, Ophelia, Orlando Furioso, and the rest, in evidence in open court, was far from wishing to indorse such an astounding statement as the following:—

"Insanity, that degree, be it less or more, of mental derangement which does away with the responsibility of a man for his acts, cannot, of itself, be artistically treated."

Yet on page 177 this statement is made, and enlarged upon with no reserve or qualification.

While the above are perhaps extreme instances, they are far from

being unrepresentative of the writer's style. The book is not without merits, a sense of humor and most genuine learning being among them. It must, however, be frankly said, that it is so lacking in organic structure, so deficient in method, so "scrappy and patchy," in Browning's expressive phrase, that it is as though the *disjecta membra* of a professor's note-book had been pieced or jumbled together into the outward semblance of a book. Lamb, having listened to Coleridge's circumlocutions in a lecture supposed to be on *Romeo and Juliet*, remarked afterwards: "Not so bad—he was to give us a lecture on the nurse, and he has given us one *in the manner* of the nurse."

Henry S. Pancoast.

Lake Champlain and its Shores. By W. H. H. Murray. Author of "Adventures in the Wilderness," "Daylight Land," "Adirondack Tales," "Mamelons," "Ungava," etc. Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., 365 Washington Street. Pp. 261. With Portrait. — Too much of this is written in the overcharged and pretentious rhetorical style which is such a favorite in America, and which the author has brought over from the pulpit. He gives us the distinctive animating principles of the various nationalities of Christendom in a fashion that seems intended for an amalgam of the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras and the sententiousness of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, but which after all is nothing but the familiar bombast of a popular American preacher. But in the latter part of the prefatory chapter, where he treats of the gradual decay of country influences in American homes, and their gradual restitution in another form, the great abilities of the author find their congenial field, and he gives both admonitions and encouragements which cannot be too deeply laid to heart.

The body of the book magnifies the greatness of Lake Champlain rather beyond what most people will attain unto, for, do what we may, the most of us cannot make Indian history or legends very interesting to ourselves. We cannot discover that there was any principle of progress or of beauty in the aboriginal race. But the author flashes out not ineffectively against Mr. Parkman's extreme disparagement of it. And the great historical issues between the European races determined around this lake are brought out with deep impressiveness.

We quote one or two pregnant passages:—

"The fated lake now known as Lake Champlain lay stretched between its amphitheatre of hills like some ancient arena awaiting, through the still dark hours of night, the coming of dawn, the struggle, and the audience. We say fated; for on no other single body of water on the globe, so far as known to history or tradition, have so many battles been fought, so many brave men died, such mighty issues been settled by the sword, or such momentous questions—as judged by their connection with the government and development of the human race—been decided by the arbitrament of arms. For here on this lake the two great and antagonistic interpretations of Christianity met, in the armed representatives of two warlike races, face to face, and, for a hundred years, the fierce struggle lasted without intermission, save when at intervals, like two strong wrestlers, equally matched, by mutual consent they released their grip each on the other, and stood apart for a space to renew their breath and summon up their powers for a deadlier clinch. For it must be remarked that it was not in Germany or Geneva, at the Hague or among the mountains of Southern France, that Protestantism gained its everlasting triumph over its Papal rival, but here between the Green Mountains and the

Adirondack peaks, and on the shores and waters of Lake Champlain was the final and decisive contest between these two mighty and inherently hostile forces waged, — a contest which gave to Protestant thought and its resultant liberty the civic possession of a continent, and, through its developing civilization, inspired by its own genius, the wealth, the commerce, the literatures, the government, and even the fashions of the modern world.”

See, also, the description of Champlain himself and his discovery of the lake, on page 61; the striking explanation of Mohawk Rock, on page 75; Arnold's exhibition of valor and incompetency (“What a brave fool he is!”), on page 95; and that bloodiest of water-fights, Maedonough's victory, on page 100.

The Pleroma. A Poem of the Christ. In Two Books of Seven Cantos each, written in Semi-dramatic Form. By Rev. E. P. Chittenden, A. M. Ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ Πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς. — Col. ii. 9. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890. Pp. vi, 347. — This is not Gnostic, but soundly Catholic in doctrine. Into its thorny brakes of expression and meaning we have only penetrated far enough to be able to assure the reader, especially if he be a Churchman, that he will find everything as it ought to be. Indeed, we observe that processions are provided for rather before the creation of the world. To our poor apprehension the science and theology decidedly overweight the poetry. But that is a matter of opinion.

American Orators and Reformers. Horace Greeley, The Editor. By Francis Nicoll Zabriskie. Funk & Wagnalls, New York: 18 and 20 Astor Place. London: 44 Fleet Street, 1890. All rights reserved. Pp. iv, 398. — William S. Karr, the late Professor of Theology in Hartford Seminary, being asked by the present writer, during the Rebellion, what he regarded as the best religious paper in the country, declared that he gave his verdict for the New York “Tribune.” This judgment of a stanch High Calvinist in favor of a newspaper, called secular, edited by a Unitarian and Universalist, was well warranted. For those lumbering obstacles to the gospel, known as denominations, Horace Greeley had no occasion to plead, though he seems to have been sincerely attached to his own. But his soul was on fire with the desire to see established on earth the Kingdom of God, as this is realized and revealed in Jesus Christ. His want of discipline, and of the historic sense, led his judgment into many serious aberrations, but never deflected the needle of his purpose from its true pole. This little biography renders ample justice to this central inspiration of Greeley's character. At the same time it gives the frankest fullness of description as to the extraordinary multiplicity of roughnesses and eccentricities which rendered him so droll a specimen of outlandishness. His personal character is well expressed in what the biographer says of his personal habits, namely, that his clothes were uncouthly fitted and more uncouthly worn, but that his linen was always spotless and his baths never neglected. Margaret Fuller said of him: “He is, in his habits, a plebeian; in his heart, a nobleman.” We remember how warmly he has pleaded the cause of dandies, as having an important function of civilization. The biography says: “He had the face of an angel and the walk of a clodhopper.” But no satire on American manners could be too searching for him, for, as he said, we had needed it all, and ought to regard Mrs. Trollope as having been a special benefactress. Had she

come over a century or two earlier, the good effects of her mission might have filtered down even to him, though his abstraction from outward respects was perhaps intrinsically incurable.

"It was a strange personality, — this clear and commanding intellect and strong elements of manhood combined with a lack of self-discipline which amounted to childishness. He never lost the simplicity, the naturalness, nor even the spoiled petulance of a child. He stood out from the world of men about him as never a man of the world. He was singular, for one in his position and with his experience, in being swayed by impulse, and in saying directly what he thought. But though he always remained himself a child of nature, he developed the most intense and absorbing interest in the arts and laws and relations of civilization. He seemed to feel, as migratory birds feel the springs and autumns in the air, the atmospheric currents of American life and destiny; and his failure to accomplish greater things was because he was too impatient in desire, and premature in act. His mission, though he would not see it, was to arouse the hunt, to start the cry, but not to be in at the death. His call was to be a Voice in the Wilderness, an awakener of thought and conscience. He belonged to the epoch of the agitator and the pioneer in reform and politics. He was a moulder of opinion, rather than of events."

Mr. Greeley's Quaker-like abhorrence of war and pain made him a very bad guide through the Rebellion. The "Tribune" was always inopportunately meddlesome; the "Times" was of almost an infallible practical judgment. But what of that? The latter part of Greeley's life was a failing epilogue; but he could afford to have it so. The singular absurdity of his nomination, comical to the world at large, tragical to him and his, could not be overcome by all the scandals of an evil administration. The present writer was in Southern Virginia the summer before the election, and has never seen a funnier sight than the crowds of recent rebels filling the trains and vigorously fanning themselves with the decapitated head of the old abolitionist, stuck on little pike-handles. He addressed one, and remarked, that probably his objection to General Grant was, that he was not anti-slavery enough. "Oh," he retorted, with a deprecating toss of the head, "Mr. Greeley has amnestied us, and we've amnestied him." It seems almost a pity we could not have had full poetic justice by their putting him in the chair.

But how few men who would be more at home in that New Jerusalem of purity and righteousness whose coming down from heaven he so largely advanced! As the biographer says, we may well confide that the Judge has given him to hear: "Well done, good and faithful servant." The little book is altogether to be commended for its frankness, its well packed fullness, and its well-balanced expressions of opinion.

Ecclesiastical Politics in the Methodist Episcopal Church. A symposium. Chicago: Patriotic Publishing Co., 334 Dearborn Street. Pp. 95. In paper. — This gives a dismal picture of the ill results of the rising gradations of honor in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its concentration of government, in promoting the most virulent forms of the *Volo episcopari*. If a certain bishop, according to an authentic revelation made to a female saint, was condemned to five years of purgatorial torment for a single flitting wish for the mitre, what is to be thought of the probable destiny of some of the gentlemen alluded to here? These

comments would be thought a libel, if they did not come from leaders in the Methodist Church. Their pungency is one of the best proofs that there is manly vigor enough to remedy the evil, if it has to be done by overturning the system. It is questionable whether the Presiding Eldership will not have to go, as being the main seat of the mischief. It is a comfort to know that the four episcopal names which are most familiar to New England ears are out of all supposable range of this vigorous cannonade. And as to the scandals of a certain episcopal election, notorious alike for the unblushing self-assertion of the candidate and the undisguised championship of a powerful family, as no such stain had ever fallen on the Methodist Episcopal Church before, it is to be hoped that none such will ever fall on it again.

Divine Rod and Staff in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, or *Consolatory Thoughts* for the Dying and Bereaved. By Rev. J. M. Anspach, A. M., Easton, Penn. Funk & Wagnalls: New York, 18 & 20 Astor Place; London: 44 Fleet Street. 1890. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States. Pp. xvi, 281. — An accumulation of devout and sound considerations of various sides of the heavenly rest and reward, and of the various relations which the toils and afflictions of earth, borne for Christ's sake, sustain to this reward. It is strange, however, that the author should have to prove to *Christians* that mutual recognition is an essential part of heaven. How irrationally loose many people's ideas float, as to the causal and essential connection between the two lives!

As a Pennsylvanian, the author bears a timely testimony to mill-owners, that though their exactions may be making heaven still more a matter of yearning to their overburdened operatives, they are preparing something very different for themselves.

One Man's Struggle. By George W. Gallagher.

"So let it be. In God's own might
We gird us for the coming fight,
And strong in Him whose cause is ours
In conflict with unholy powers,
We grasp the weapons He has given, —
The Light and Truth and Love of Heaven."

Funk & Wagnalls. New York: 18 & 20 Astor Place; London: 44 Fleet Street. 1890. Pp. viii, 169. — It can hardly be said that this little book fuses the moral end (the advocacy of prohibition) so thoroughly with the intrinsic interest of a story as that the latter floats and carries the former. But the catastrophe is dramatically tragical, and interest is sustained by the knowledge that we are reading facts under the form of fiction.

Seven Years in Ceylon. Stories of Mission Life. By Mary and Margaret W. Leitch. Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With Portraits and many Illustrations. London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 9 Paternoster Row. Pp. viii, 170. Full of life and cheery Christian zeal, and in their very diffuseness letting the reader the more perfectly into the inmost heart of both heathen and Christian life in northern Ceylon. The abundant and excellent illustrations of every kind light up the book throughout. It would be a beautiful Christmas present.

The Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson. By George R. Crooks, D. D. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1890.

Pp. xii, 512.—This large and handsome volume contains a biography written with appreciation and animation, but with a dignified simplicity and moderation thoroughly corresponding to the character of its eminent, and more than eminent subject. The author well describes Bishop Simpson's life as a typically American one. Cheerful godliness was its stamp, and efficient godliness, entirely within the lines of our national life, to which he rendered such inestimable services during the Rebellion, when, as the biographer happily styles him, he was "an evangelist of patriotism" throughout the country. There was a great congeniality of spirit between him and Mr. Lincoln, and both Lincoln and Stanton valued most highly his intermediation in all the more spiritual aspects of the struggle. His thorough knowledge of the upper South, and the union of firmness and conciliation in his character, made his counsels particularly effective as to the treatment of the semi-rebellious districts and churches.

Bishop Simpson, though a cultivated and well-read man, did not pretend to be a great scholar or a great writer. The marvelous effect of his oratory, both at home and abroad, rested on the more important fact that he was a great personality, surcharged with Christian faith and love, and with the unadulterated Methodist enthusiasm. Simplicity, and unpretending readiness to do the day's duty in the day, seems to have been the ground-tone of his character from beginning to end.

His relations to his own denomination are not so easy to be apprehended except by the members of it. But his unflinching advocacy of lay representation, at a time when the alarmed itinerancy, in its fear of being thrown into the shade, muttered threats of trial and deposition, very well gives the measure of the man.

The accounts of foreign travel, and of the reception accorded by various ranks of Christians, from Prussian royalty down, give greater freshness to the book, though its main interest lies at home. The reading of it will be a reinforcement both of Christian faith and of affection to all that gives distinctive value to America.

Transplanted. By *Fannie E. Newberry*: Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. Pp. 391. \$1.50.—A bright and healthy story, romantic, but in such a way as to preserve the contact with reality. Its characters are full of that happy combination of youthful exuberance with true Christian purpose which is more abundantly realized in America than perhaps anywhere else. The book is full of incident, so arranged as to bring out in growing development the strength of feeling and of Christian benevolence in the young heroine who, restored from the world of poverty and degradation to her affluent and excellent kindred, devotes herself more and more to bring all classes around her to understand practically that "the rich and the poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all."

Aztec Land. By *Maturin M. Ballou*.

The dust is old upon my sandal-shoon,
And still I am a Pilgrim.

N. P. WILLIS.

Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1890. Pp. x, 335.—A jumble of useful and picturesque information respecting our picturesque neighbor. The position of the author in judging of her is that of a bitter Protestantism minus Christianity. There is probably

no Roman Catholic country as to which such a position would work less injustice. As a French abbé remarks, the Mexicans are Catholics, but they are not Christians. The author, however, is equally superficial and undiscriminating in his invectives against Spain. He allows, nevertheless, that even the Inquisition may have been a good exchange for the horrors of the Aztec religion. His representation of Mexico as the aggressor in the war with us is in the true old style of the Wolf and the Lamb. As to her present resources, except the precious metals, he holds them to be considerable, but by no means astonishing. He gives interesting descriptions of the capital, and of that Mexican paradise, Jalapa. It is not by any means an unpleasant book, and is particularly worthy of attention in its reiterated declarations of the entire untrustworthiness of the Spanish descriptions of Aztec civilization and history, whose splendors they enormously exaggerate. The late Professor Ferdinand V. Hayden once remarked to the present writer, that he was convinced that the Catholic mind of that time was wholly incapable of seeing anything objectively and of describing anything objectively. As to Mr. Ballou's notion (ratified by eminent names, it is true), that there was an early communication between Mexico and Egypt, we may, as at present advised, hold that to be a mere fancy. Similarity of conditions might easily induce similarities of development. And we may remember, too, that Dr. Brinton holds the Toltecs to have been merely mythologized Aztecs, the men of the Age of Gold.

The Baldwin Lectures, 1890. The World and the Man. By Hugh Miller Thompson. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1890. Pp. 258. \$1.25.—The animation of these lectures makes one wish that this could be combined with a little more dignity. The style is slightly "bumptious," and bumptiousness under the mitre produces a peculiar and rather comical effect. But this superficial fault is about all the fault there is. The tone and breadth of view is thoroughly vigorous and manly. The Mississippian bishop is ready to have his own beliefs criticised, and glories in our iconoclastic age. This in equity involves his right to hammer away at the new idols and new superstitions which the irreligious abjectness of our age is so solicitous to introduce, and to sanctify under a cloud of uncouth unintelligibility of phraseology.

The foundation of the lectures is the Temptation of our Lord, whom he rightly understands to be here likewise the vicarious representative of mankind, not to release it from the necessity of temptation, but to assure to it the victory therein. The wild beasts of the wilderness are the children of the wilderness, and cannot go beyond natural conditions. Man is providentially brought into the wilderness, to be tested to the uttermost, but he is not the child of the wilderness. His business in it is to do what the lower creatures cannot dream of doing, transform it, and bring out all its hidden resources. He is to convert the stones into bread; to gain the dominion of all the various realms of material and immaterial power which he beholds from its heights; to enter into such unity of knowledge and consent with the laws of his Father's world, that he can commit himself through these to his Father's providential care. But the devil is always urging him to undertake these things by his short-cuts, with the help of his power, ostensibly, it may be, for the ends of God, but really for those of Satan, since the nature of the means will assuredly determine the nature of the result.

The Bishop pours out the vials of his righteous wrath upon Satan's Economics, and contends most valiantly that true belief in eternal life is impossible to those who do not believe in the possibility, and in the obligation, of anticipating it on earth, by banishing from the earth all evils which brotherhood and unwearied moral guardianship can remove. He remarks, very piquantly, that, seeing no man, and no race, can ever be confirmed in the Kingdom and its various prerogatives of mastery over nature without being tempted to the utmost by Satan, it is our bounden duty to see to it that they are not tempted by the wickedness of man. He denies both sides of antichristian Economics, the *laissez-faire* and the *faisez tout*, holding that we should reduce trial to its endurable point, but should recognize no good as confirmed to man or race which has simply been poured on it (like freedom on the blacks), and has not been thoroughly wrought into it, under the stress of effort. He maintains that it is in the end moral fibre, not mainly physical, which secures permanency. He highly approves the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest," in time and eternity, denying that the divine benignity implies a compulsion on the morally unworthy to survive the strain of trial, holding, of life temporal and eternal, that "few there be that find it." He highly approves the optimism of our American and of our whole Anglo-Saxon race, with all its dangers, and all its weaknesses, holding it to be a rude expression of a deep-lying conviction — communicated, by refraction, even to those who may be doing little for it — first, that the Kingdom of God is to be realized on earth, and secondly, that we are called as a double race — though we may fail of being chosen — to take a large part in realizing it.

The book is very fresh, and is all the time disclosing unexpected views. The author has drunk deep of the high idealism of "the mitred saint of Cloyne," and no one who believes that the Visible is but the shadow of the Invisible can fail of bringing us to ever new glades and openings in the enchanted forest of Truth — that region of sane and wholesome magic, where there is neither poison nor illusion, and whose endless variety grows ever more home-like, as it opens out upon the broad plain in which we discern the City of the Twelve Foundations.

Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1890. God Incarnate. By the Right Rev. Hollingworth Tully Kingdon, D. D., Bishop Coadjutor of Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1890. Pp. vi, 252. — The tone of this episcopal volume, in strong contrast with the one just remarked on, is Stateliness. The appearance of it is stately, and the style of it is stately. In the earlier parts of it there are a good many very pertinent quotations from modern writers, chiefly scientific, but it is by far the most heavily weighted with citations from the Fathers — very edifying citations too, but enhancing the general impression of the book as a heavily embroidered piece of sacerdotal brocade. Of pliancy to the habits of modern thought, and of American life, there is perhaps the slightest possible suspicion. That profound truth, the Extension of the Incarnation, is handled, but the only instruments of it noted, so far as we discover, are the Sacraments and Sacramentalia. These, the Right Reverend author appears to hold, extend the incarnate nature by a purely mystical, or magical operation. That no rite can bring to us an indwelling power of the Holy Ghost farther than as it concentrates the ethical conditions whereby Faith and Love are kindled within us, would we should judge,

be regarded by Bishop Kingdon as mischievous rationalism. We may do him wrong here, for his stateliness makes him hard reading. But, under submission, we should judge that his doctrine of the sacramental and semi sacramental operation would not differ much from the *opus operatum*, which requires no other condition of its efficacy than a present freedom from mortal sin.

The episcopal author expatiates at length on the importance and dignity of Confirmation, which he will have to be identical with the laying on of the Apostles' hands. He seems to feel that he is bound to magnify his office by magnifying this most widely used of its two reserved prerogatives. A valid Confirmation, he declares, is only possible in the Catholic Church, by which he means the aggregate of episcopal churches of unbroken succession left after shutting out the Monophysite and Nestorian. Cardinal Manning, therefore, in refusing to reconfirm some who had been confirmed by the Anglican, Dr. Mossman, on the ground that Mossman, though schismatic, seems to have obtained a valid consecration, would not meet with Bishop Kingdon's approbation. The latter would approve of the refusal, but deny the justness of the ground. He does not allow that the Holy Spirit *abides* among non-episcopalian Christians, though he is good enough to admit that He may *breathe* upon them, with salutary results. He speaks of the duty of enticing them into the constituted tabernacle of the Spirit. We doubt whether this part of a Churchman's duty has been in any great measure committed to him. We are inclined to think that the large human sympathies and deep ethical solicitudes of Bishop Thompson's book are more likely to have such an effect, notwithstanding that in one passage the latter flashes out into a High Church scornfulness of which there is no trace in Bishop Kingdon.

Our author does not miss a convenient opportunity of likening Calvinism to Moslem fatalism, and then makes a quotation which shows how profoundly different they are. The present writer is not a Calvinist, but he cannot help admiring how scornfully a good many Anglicans can protest against Calvinism, and then, like this author, extol Augustine to the skies, after Canon Mozley has shown so convincingly that Augustine, Calvin, and Jansen, all hold precisely the same doctrine of predestination. Perhaps these Churchmen do so by way of counteracting the present dangerous symptoms of reunion between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism. It may be that they would do well to include the bull *Unigenitus* among their symbols of the faith. They might find this great arsenal of Jesuit warfare very serviceable. Indeed, the "Guardian" does cite it approvingly to this end.

Bishop Kingdon repeats the never-dying slander against Edward Irving, that he held the human nature of our Lord to be sinful, an opinion which Irving always repelled with unspeakable horror, declaring unwaveringly that he held the humanity of our Lord, though under the conditions of the Fall, to have been, by the special operation of the Holy Ghost, held pure, from its very first existence, of the least taint of either actual or original sin.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago. Honda the Samurai. A Story of Modern Japan. By William Elliot Griffith, D. D., Pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, Mass., and author of "The Mikado's Empire," etc. With Illustrations. Pp. 390. \$1.50.

Massachusetts New-Church Union, Boston. The Spiritual Interpretation of the Scriptures. Lectures on Genesis and Exodus. By Joseph Worcester. Pp. 183. 1890. 75 cents.

Tuttle, Morehouse, Taylor, New Haven. The Philosophical Works of Leibnitz. Comprising the Monadology, New System of Nature, Principles of Nature and of Grace, Letters to Clarke, Refutation of Spinoza, and his other important Opuscules, together with the Abridgment of the Theodicy, and extracts from the New Essays on the Human Understanding. Translated from the original Latin and French. With Notes by George Martin Dunean, Instructor in Mental and Moral Philosophy, Yale University. 8vo, pp. 392. 1890. \$2.50.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. The Expositor's Bible. The Book of Isaiah. By the Rev. George Adam Smith, M. A., Minister of Queen's Cross Church, Aberdeen. In two volumes. Vol. II. Isaiah xl.-lxvi. With a Sketch of the History of Israel from Isaiah to the Exile. Pp. xvi, 474. 1890. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — The Miracles of our Saviour. Expounded and Illustrated. By William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York city. Pp. vi, 449. 1890. \$1.75. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — The Living Christ and the Four Gospels. By R. W. Dale, LL. D., Birmingham. Pp. xii, 299. 1890. — A. W. Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda. By his Sister. With Portrait and Map. Author's Edition. Pp. viii, 488. 1890.

The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. How to be a Pastor. By Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D., late Pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Church, Brooklyn. 16mo, pp. 151. 75 cents.

E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. The Light of the World and other Sermons. By Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. Fifth Series. Pp. 373. 1890. \$1.75.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Lyrics. Fjelda, The Great Bridge, In the Happy Summer Time, etc. By Joseph Hudson Young. Pp. 131. 1889. \$1.00.

Hunt & Eaton, New York; Cranston & Stowe, Cincinnati. Boston Homilies. Short Sermons on the International Sunday-school Lessons for 1891. By Members of the Alpha Chapter of the Convocation of Boston University. First Series. Pp. viii, 408. 1890. \$1.25. — The Sibylline Oracles. Translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse. By Milton S. Terry, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. Pp. 261. 1890. \$1.50.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. The Great Discourse of Jesus the Christ, the Son of God. A Topical Arrangement and Analysis of all his Words recorded in the New Testament separated from the Context. Pp. xxxi, 361. \$1.50.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by Professor Marcus Dods, D. D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D. D. The Six Intermediate Minor Prophets: Obadiah - Zephaniah. By George C. M. Douglas, D. D., Principal and Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow; author of the Handbooks on "Joshua" and "Judges," etc. Pp. 157. 60 cents.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. My Note Book. Fragmentary Studies in Theology, and subjects adjacent thereto. By Austin Phelps, D. D., LL. D. With a Portrait. Pp. viii, 324. 1891. \$1.50.

Thomas Whitaker, New York. The Theological Educator. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M. A., LL. D., Editor of "The Expositor." The

Writers of the New Testament, their Style and Characteristics. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M. A., Rector of Harlaxton. The Second Part of The Language of the New Testament. Pp. viii, 190. 75 cents.

Charles L. Webster & Co., New York. A Concise Cyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Biblical, Biographical, Theological, Historical, and Practical. Edited by Elias Benjamin Sanford, M. A. Illustrated. Pp. 985. 1890.

The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. The Intercourse between the United States and Japan. An Historical Sketch. By Inazo (Ota) Nitobe, A. B. extra ordinem (J. H. U.), A. M. and Ph. D. (Halle), Associate Professor, Sapporo, Japan. 8vo, pp. ix, 198. 1891. \$1.25.

S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. Hindu Literature; or, The Ancient Books of India. By Elizabeth A. Reed, Member of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain. Pp. xviii, 410. 1891.

James Speirs, London. The Two Christianities, Old and New. By the Rev. James F. Buss. Pp. xi, 107. 1890.

The University Press, Cambridge; C. J. Clay & Sons, London. The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools. The Acts of the Apostles; with Introduction and Notes. By J. Rawson Lumby, D. D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. 160. 1890. — Pitt Press Mathematical Series. Elementary Algebra. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by W. W. Rouse Ball, Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pp. xv, 486. 1890. — Pitt Press Series. Gai Iuli Caesaris Commentariorum de Bello Civili, Liber Primus. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. By A. G. Peskett, M. A., Fellow, Assistant Tutor, and Lecturer of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. xx, 172. 1890. — ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Ε' Ζ' Η'. The Cyropædeia of Xenophon. Books VI., VII., VIII., with Notes, By the Rev. Hubert A. Holden, M. A., LL. D., Fellow of the University of London. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. 296. 1890.

Librairie Fischbacher, Paris. Le Problème de L'Immortalité. Par E. Petavel-Olliff, Ancien Pasteur, Docteur en Théologie. Étude Précédée d'une Lettre de Charles Secrétan, Professeur de Philosophie à l'Université de Lausanne. Pp. xii, 441. 1891.